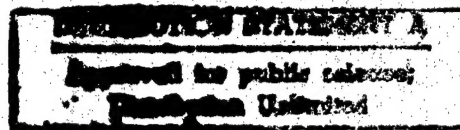


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15 July 1982

NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

No. 2582

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EGYPTIAN PAPER CALLS FOR CHANGE IN U.S. MIDEAST POLICY

PM050721 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 1 Jul 82 p 7

[Salah Muntasir column from Washington: "The Required Change"]

[Text] As far as we Arabs are concerned, the departure of Haig and the arrival of Shultz is immaterial; so is the question of whether Reagan dismissed or accepted the resignation of his secretary of state and appointed a new secretary, Schultz, in his place. This is not the required change. What is actually required is that the United States change its Middle East policy after becoming involved in the barbaric and horrendous massacre which Israel has perpetrated in Lebanon, because that policy is primarily responsible for these massacres and probably the principal element in them.

Reagan does not understand foreign policy well. This is what many people in America say. For this reason U.S. foreign policy was in the grip of Haig, who aspired to become the next president. He did not conceal this aspiration when, a year ago, John Hinckley tried to assassinate Reagan. Using the excuse that Reagan was in hospital, he announced that he was in charge.

What is important is that it is now clear that Haig was mentally and emotionally involved in Israel's crime of invading Lebanon with the aim of totally wiping out the PLO, even if the achievement of that goal required entering Beirut, besieging the PLO forces and killing them one by one.

Haig convinced President Reagan that wiping out the Palestinians in Lebanon was the only way to achieve "stability" in the area, on the grounds that this would be followed by the Syrians' departure from Lebanon and the installation of a Lebanese Government that would accept an agreement dictated by Israel.

Thus, with clear U.S. support and after a suspect attempt to assassinate the Israeli ambassador in London and with a barbarism even more violent than that of which Nazism was accused, Israel launched its invasion of Lebanon in order to wipe out the Palestinians.

The United States has forgotten that it is a question not of 20,000 or 30,000 armed Palestinians in Lebanon but actually of the millions of Palestinians, whose reaction to what is happening to their brothers in Lebanon will turn them

into terrorists who will commit crimes in the Arab countries in which they live. Stability may eventually be established in Lebanon, but it will be at the cost of engulfing the whole area in the flames of hatred and revenge.

Perhaps Reagan finally realized the gravity of the situation in which his country is involved and therefore removed Haig. But what is important is not to change a secretary but to change U.S. policy itself.

As we have said before and say again, it is not necessary that the United States stand with the Arabs but only that it stand first with itself.

CSO: 4500/212

U.S. VETO ON LEBANON CRITICIZED

PM011131 Cairo AL AKHBAR in Arabic 29 Jun 82 p 6

[Editorial: "The U.S. Organization"]

[Excerpts] Through its uneven foreign policy the United States has managed to turn the United Nations into what may be called a U.S. organization, or into something like what was known as the League of Nations, which was formed by the imperialist states in Geneva after World War I to defend imperialist interests.

By casting its veto--which is now the U.S. distinguishing mark--the United States has torpedoed the UN mission and has deprived the United Nations of its political value. That organization is no longer a place for upholding a right or doing justice, nor is it a power that can support right against wrong. It is a veto game which the United States plays any way it likes. The recent use of this veto by the United States in support of Israel and its atrocities in Lebanon provided clear evidence of this. It has shaken the world's faith in this organization which has been turned by the United States into an organization for the protection of Israel and the approval of its crimes and its annihilation of the Palestinian and Lebanese people.

We are at a loss to see why the United States vetoed the security council resolution. Was it because the draft resolution called for Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon? If so, it means that the United States does not want Israel to withdraw from Lebanon. Was the United States angered by the draft resolution's condemnation of Israel for not abiding by the council's resolutions of 5 and 6 June, because the United States does not condone any condemnation of Israel, even for not implementing two security council resolutions?

The Americans themselves have said that their foreign policy has gone astray and that it is weaker than at any other time this century. What the Americans do as far as their own affairs are concerned is their own business. Let the United States do what it likes to itself, and even to the United Nations, but it has no right to prejudice the policies of other nations and their cooperation to defend human rights and international order and to promote international understanding, stability, security and peace.

The Soviets have devoured the Muslim Afghan people in broad daylight, but the United Nations did nothing. A devastating war broke out between Iraq and Iran, but the United Nations did not make a sound or voice an opinion. Israel has stormed Lebanon and committed indescribable and most abominable atrocities against the Lebanese and Palestinian people--atrocities unprecedented even in the worst eras of barbarism and bestiality in history. When the United Nations was poised to take a stand to stop the bloody massacre, the United States cast its veto to prevent the United Nations condemning Israel or stopping what Israel is doing in Lebanon. The veto policy has been applied to abort the UN mission and render it politically ineffective. As far as Israel is concerned the United Nations does not exist.

This is a fact which the Arabs must understand. The Arabs must take a stand regarding this Israeli political deviation and this U.S.-Israeli political commitment. They should act on a large scale at the international level to counter this mutual U.S.-Israeli commitment.

CSO: 4500/212

CAIRO DAILIES ON U.S. STANCE ON LEBANON

NC052349 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2240 GMT 5 Jul 82

[Press review]

[Text] Cairo, 5 Jul (MENA)--In their editorials on Tuesday the Cairo newspapers continue to denounce Israeli policy and the U.S. stand on the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. Under the headline "The Future of the United States in the Middle East," AL-AKHBAR's editorial stresses that the United States is placing itself at a crossroad with the Arabs. The paper says the United States today wants to pursue a new method in its attitude toward the Arabs regarding the Middle East. It wants Israel to completely dominate the Arab area. The United States is supporting and helping Israel every way it can and fulfills all its demands so that Israel will play the role of a guard of the U.S. interests both with regard to oil and other things and so that it can be a strong friend and faithful ally in safeguarding these interests.

AL-AKHBAR points out that if the United States were to be fair in dealing with the Arabs, as Eisenhower had been in confronting the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956, and if it were to base its relations with the Arabs on the exchange of interests, it would have stable relations with them and they would have confidence in the United States. The United States, however, has aligned itself with Israel.

The paper says it is regrettable that the United States cannot be disinterested toward the Middle Eastern countries. The reason for this is Zionist control of the United States to serve Israeli interests. The paper affirms that this is the reason behind all the problems that the Arabs are having with the United States.

AL-JUMHURIYAB points out that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon made an effective U.S. role in promoting peace require more. However, the absence of a U.S. role and the hesitation of the United States to take a serious step toward stopping the Israeli aggression have cast heavy shadows of doubt on the real U.S. intentions toward the Middle East.

The paper points to President Mubarak's emphasis on the need for coordination with the United States to reach a solution to the Lebanese problem. The paper

says that what is required from the United States is to act not only from humanitarian motives but also from the premise that it is a superpower that shoulders responsibilities toward international peace in general and the Middle East in particular in view of the links, interests and friends it has in the area. It is in the U.S. interests to rebuild bridges of confidence with these friends--bridges that Israel is out to destroy.

AL-AHRAM says that amidst the aggravated Lebanese crisis and the increasing Israeli threats to annihilate the resistance and its remaining stronghold in western Beirut, even if this were to involve the killing of thousands of innocent Lebanese civilians, the Israeli side is making statements that cause more disgust and shock. The paper says one of these statements is the one the Israeli foreign minister recently made to the effect that the political Palestinian entity is but a west European, particularly French, invention and that the PLO does not distinguish between political organization and military leadership and that both work toward the same goals.

Commenting on this statement, AL-AHRAM says that even though Shamir denies the PLO the right to combine political and military action to achieve the same goal, it is understood even in the logic of war that military action complements political action to achieve real or declared goals. The only justification for this denial is that Shamir does not recognize the PLO as a body representing the Palestinian people because, in the first place, he does not recognize the presence of this people. We can understand his first statement in this light. Since there are no Palestinian people, the political Palestinian entity, which is recognized by well over 90 countries--in addition to the legality it has acquired through international resolutions and agreements--is in the Israeli political perspective a mere "invention."

AL-AHRAM continues that it is time that the picture is made complete and clear to the world of Israel's visualization of the Palestinian question in general, particularly since Shamir said on several occasions that the Palestinians had actually already determined their future by having joined Jordan. Naturally, the world is not required to learn the real Israeli policy toward the Palestinian people's question by gleaning information from various clauses and statements. Israel is required to present to the world a complete, detailed picture of its position on this question so that it can be called to account.

CSO: 4500/221

DR GHALI OUTLINES AIMS OF EGYPTIAN CONTACTS IN PARIS

JN021515 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1408 GMT 2 Jul 82

[Text] Paris, 2 Jul (MENA)--Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, has stressed that the immediate objective of the intensive Egyptian diplomatic efforts concerning the situation in Lebanon is to maintain the cease-fire, disengage the combatant forces and achieve Israeli withdrawal from the Lebanese territories.

In an interview today with several Egyptian journalists in Paris, Dr Ghali said that Egypt's immediate objective is to defend Lebanon's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

All these objectives, Dr Ghali stressed, are the focus of contacts in Paris with French officials, the British foreign secretary and the Italian foreign minister. He also said that his talks in Paris are in the context of co-ordination with French diplomats and the EEC states.

Dr Ghali said that the Egyptian role is that of a mediator and defender of the opinions and desires of the Palestinians before the U.S. side.

Dr Ghali said that Egypt is also making contacts with all the Lebanese sides, including Phalangist leader Bashir al-Jumayyil, to persuade them to help the Palestinian side, because it is very wrong indeed not to help the Palestinians.

Dr Ghali asserted that Egypt does not object in principle to participating in guarantees concerning the situation in Lebanon.

Dr Ghali also stressed that Egypt has special and cordial relations with the United States, but that this does not mean that Egypt cannot disagree with the United States or criticize it if it adopts a position contrary to the interest of peace.

Dr Ghali referred to the continuous U.S.-Egyptian contacts on the situation in Lebanon.

Dr Butrus Ghali asserted that Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its attack on the Palestinian people contradict the spirit of Camp David and the peace

agreements. He added that the peace agreements call for negotiations and dialogue and reject the use of military force.

He emphasized that Egyptian-Israeli relations have been affected by the Israeli attack on Lebanon. These relations, he said, are not the same as they were some 1 and a half months ago.

Asked whether Egypt is considering adopting certain measures against Israel such as the withdrawal of its ambassador from Tel Aviv, Dr Ghali said that Egypt is trying to carry out positive measures to solve the crisis and not negative ones. Egypt's current move is a positive measure while the withdrawal of the ambassador or any other similar measure would be a negative one.

He added that the European community's decision is the result of Egypt's positive move. The Egyptian minister was referring to President Husni Mubarak's messages to heads of the European community's states on the eve of their meeting.

Dr Ghali warned against the Israeli forces storming Beirut, stressing that this will further complicate the crisis. He added that: if we can attain a settlement that may satisfy both the Palestinian and the Lebanese sides then we will maintain hope to keep the dialogue running. Our success here will indicate that the negotiations are useful. If we fail, Dr Ghali added, no one will ever believe in the use of negotiations.

CSO: 4500/221

EGYPT

RULING PARTY OFFICIAL ON LEBANON, ARAB STANCE

JN041552 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1445 GMT 4 Jul 82

[Text] Cairo, 4 Jul (MENA)--Safwat al-Sharif, minister of state for information and information secretary in the National Democratic Party [NDP], has said that Arab disunity was the main factor in the Lebanese crisis. He was referring to the absence of Arab solidarity and of any united Arab view on a solution to the Lebanese crisis or the Palestinian problem. Al-Sharif said that the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front which regards itself as the protector of the Palestinian cause and resistance and calls for all-out confrontation with Israel, was silent on the invasion of Lebanon and did not even hold a meeting to discuss the serious Lebanese situation despite the fact that it met before to stop Egypt's return to Arab ranks because it regarded this as a threat to the Arab nation. Now this front is completely inactive in facing the real threat.

Al-Sharif pointed out that the Palestinian resistance suddenly found itself alone on the battlefield facing the Israeli invasion when the Syrian forces accepted the cease-fire which contradicted their cause of existence in Lebanon under the name of the Arab deterrent forces which were supposed to protect Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance. The Lebanese army also stood idly by and did not defend Lebanon or the Palestinians.

This came in an introduction to a leaflet issued today by the information secretariat of the NDP on Lebanese events. The leaflet discussed the history of the Lebanese problem and its developments since 1975, the establishment of the Arab deterrent forces, the Cairo and Riyadh conference resolutions and the stance of the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon.

The leaflet also included a detailed supplement on the military operations carried out in Lebanon and the efforts exerted by President Mubarak and the NDP government in Egypt to avert an Israeli storming of Beirut, realize a comprehensive cease-fire and Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and establish the Palestinian people's legitimate rights.

CSO: 4500/212

EGYPTIAN-SAUDI CIVIL AIR DISPUTE

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 24 Jun 82 p 6

/Article by Adam al-Nawawi: "The Problem of 20,000 Egyptian Citizens in Dhahran Airport Has Been Resolved and They Have Started Returning in Groups to Cairo"/

/Text The problem of the more than 20,000 Egyptian citizens in Dhahran airport has been solved, now that Egyptian and Saudi aviation /authorities have reached an agreement ending the problem. The problem started with a decree, issued by persons unknown, prohibiting Egyptian airplanes from landing in Dhahran airport; as a result, this tremendous number of Egyptians had collected in the airport waiting for planes to take them to Cairo.

Maj Gen Yahya al-Shinawi, chairman of the Egyptian Civil Aviation Authority, said, "We do not view the issue as a problem that is difficult to solve; rather, the matter amounts to no more than a difference in views to which more than one solution can be found, because this sort of dispute occurs with many airline companies and the like in their dealings with one another. There is a bilateral agreement between Egypt Air and Saudia Airlines regulating air transport between the two countries, and it has been in effect since 14 November 1974. Annexes to this agreement regulate the rights of both companies. The purpose in agreements between Egypt Air, the domestic company, and other airlines in other countries is to create a balance in granting flight rights to both parties which will result in equality of opportunities and equal benefits realized through passenger transport activity. Air transport agreements are commercial or economic agreements, and any disruptions in the economic balance of the agreements are to be considered violations of their provisions. Therefore, all agreements compel the two parties not to engage in any conduct which will have the effect of harming the interests of the other."

Maj Gen Yahya al-Shinawi, chairman of the Civil Aviation Authority, said, "The authority, monitoring indices of traffic moving between Egypt and Saudi Arabia, observed that there was a severe disruption in the balance between the Egyptian and Saudi companies, since Saudia company's share came to 74 percent of the traffic as compared with just 26 percent for Egypt Air. This fact is confirmed by statistics.

"Passenger traffic between the two countries was estimated at 984,000 passengers in 1981. From Riyadh airport, Saudia transported 308,000 passengers; Saudia is

permitted to transport passengers to and from this airport alone, to the exclusion of Egypt Air, as the annex to the agreement stipulates. Saudia also transported 402,500 passengers from Jiddah and 66,500 passengers from Madinah, and Saudia also has the right to transport passengers to and from the latter airport alone, to the exclusion of Egypt Air, according to the annex to the agreement. Saudia has transported a total of 777,000 passengers, that is 74 percent of the traffic. As for the rest of the traffic, Egypt Air transported 197,000 from Jiddah and 77,000 from Riyadh. Egypt Air has been given permission to transport passengers to and from the latter airport alone, to the exclusion of Saudia; thus Egypt Air's share of passenger traffic comes to 26 percent."

Maj Gen al-Shinawi said, "Thus the disruption in the distribution of the traffic is obvious. Faced with this phenomenon, the Egyptian General Civil Aviation Authority had to do its duty to learn the true nature of the situation first of all, and, in the light of this information, move to protect the national company, Egypt Air, because that lies within the most important functions of the authority. The first question was, were there shortcomings in the activities of Egypt Air which led to the emergence of this disruption in the distribution of traffic, or were there reasons influencing the maldistribution of passenger traffic that Egypt Air had nothing to do with?"

"In January of this year, the Civil Aviation Authority demanded that discussions be held with the Saudi authorities to deal with the problem on solid, stable grounds which were compatible with the terms of the air transport agreement concluded by the two countries, which, in Article Eight, requires that both of the national companies be given fair, equal opportunities to operate the agreed upon air routes, and that the interests of both parties be observed and that operations be closely tied to the needs of the air transport market, in a way where the load demand is compatible with actual traffic and traffic that has been predicted in an unexaggerated, well determined manner.

"We confirmed the validity of Egypt Air's position, and also confirmed the violations Saudia Airlines was committing. To confirm these, Dr Mahmud 'Izzat 'Abd-al-Hamid, director general of air transport in the authority, traveled to Saudi Arabia. Therefore we considered that it was important to conduct negotiations and the Saudi civil aviation authorities responded by setting a date for negotiations at last 22 May. Negotiations went on until 26 May."

'Izzat 'Abd-al-Hamid, director general of air transport in the Egyptian Civil Aviation Authority, said "The disruption in the balance of operations may be attributed to a number of causes, of which the most prominent are:

"The fact that orders are given making travel on Saudi Airlines Mandatory; these are called "passenger orders."

"Saudia Airlines controls most or all of the tourist offices in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia by owning or operating these offices under the guarantor system. This provides it every opportunity to attract passengers.

"There are directives to tourist offices and authorities to give travel priority to the Saudia company.

"Finally, the guarantor system applied in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia imposes restrictions on the movement of the Egypt /Air/ Company and its activities in the kingdom and limits its freedom of movement in marketing activity, while Saudia Airlines enjoys facilities and resources and can administer its offices without a guarantor.

"The Egypt Air authorities resorted to applying the provisions of Article Eight of the agreement concluded by the two countries, which requires a rapid increase in traffic and thus permits both the Egyptian and Saudi companies to offer a capacity of 7,600 seats a week in each direction. It also permits Saudia to operate all the flights transporting teachers while Egypt Air in exchange can transport people performing the regular and off-duty pilgrimage in accordance with the agreement reached in previous years. At the same time, we expressed Egypt's readiness to allocate any extra flights to cope with surplus traffic to both parties, in the event an appropriate capacity factor was achieved for both companies.

"At the same time, we offered to enter into a joint investment agreement without stipulating a maximum so that neither party would be damaged.

"It was also proposed that Saudia Airlines be permitted to offer large capacities in excess of those offered by Egypt Air in exchange for granting commercial compensation of 10 percent of the value of the revenues from the traffic."

Eng Muhammad Fahim Rayyan, chairman of the board of Egypt Air, stated that this situation harmed the operating economics of the Egypt Air company, since it subjected it to flagrant losses which are estimated at about 30 million pounds a year as a result of the decline in the loads carried by its airplanes because the Saudia company was transporting most of the available air traffic and Egypt Air's seats remained empty.

Effects of this problem were also reflected in the free currency reserve burdens the Egyptian government had to bear; these were required to finance the Saudia company's surplus revenues in Egypt.

'Ismat 'Abd-al-'Aziz, commercial general manager of Egypt Air, said, "We have managed to solve the problem of the Egyptians in Dhahran. After the Saudi authorities had prohibited us from landing our planes at Dhahran airport, we reached agreement with Jordanian Alia airlines, which transported the Egyptian passengers from Dhahran to Amman, and we then transported them from Amman to Cairo."

Yesterday Maj Gen Yahya al-Shinawi, chairman of the Egyptian Civil Aviation Authority, sent a cable to the director general of Saudi civil aviation, stating that out of concern for the interests of the traveling public, Egyptians and Arab tourists, the Egyptian General Civil Aviation Authority gave its agreement to:

Having Saudia Airlines operate its flights at the same rates as before, that is, at a rate of 14 flights a week from Jiddah and 14 flights a week from Riyadh in

747 Jumbo aircraft, in addition to three flights a week from Madina in Boeing 707 aircraft and extra flights for teachers.

This would take place until further negotiations were held, putting forward a final, just solution to this problem.

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CSO: 4504/370

BUDAPEST INTERVIEW WITH EGYPTIAN FIGURES

LD042332 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 4 Jul 82

["The Week" Program]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Presenter] It is the view of many people that the outbreak of the war in Lebanon has made it even more difficult for Egypt to return to the Arab camp. On the other hand, very few people have considered the contradictions that have arisen within Egypt as a result of Camp David and the Lebanese crisis. This is precisely what comes to light from Alajos Chrudinak's conversations held in Cairo.

[Chrudinak] Isma'il Fahmi, former Egyptian foreign minister, received us in his vacation home in Alexandria. He was one of As-Sadat's confidants and was among those involved in shaping his foreign policy. However, to everyone's surprise, he broke with As-Sadat in 1977.

[Begin recording] [Fahmi in Arabic fading into Hungarian translation] [passage omitted] The Camp David agreement has neutralized Egypt, the southern front opposing Israel, which is the most important front of the Arab-Israeli struggle. You, too, must know that in military terms Egypt was the most dangerous for Israel, among all the Arab countries. Well, the separate compromise agreement reached at Camp David has made it possible for Israel to carry out a whole series of aggressions and unlawful acts. First of all, she annexed Jerusalem, then she destroyed the Iraqi nuclear reactor and attacked Iran. Sorry, I meant to say Lebanon. On the first occasion, in 1978, a truce was proclaimed. Afterwards, the Golan Heights were annexed and in recent weeks Lebanon has been invaded. They have carried out a cruel invasion which is almost without precedent either in the region or elsewhere and thereby they have set a very dangerous example. All this took place after the signing of the separate peace agreement of Camp David. Israel began these acts in 1978, following As-Sadat's visit to Israel in November 1977.

[Chrudinak] It appears that the political map of the middle east is being redrawn somewhat. What is your view on this? What do you expect to happen and can you see a way out of this situation?

[Fahmi] I would like to say, first and foremost, that in my view the current crisis cannot be solved by political means. The situation which has arisen in

the wake of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon can have only a military solution and not a political one. There could only be a political solution if Israel were to withdraw completely from Lebanon and, following this, an opportunity would be given to the sides involved to settle the Lebanese issue themselves by political means. However, as long as the Israeli occupation remains and as long as the arms of the opposing sides are not equal in terms of quantity and quality, the only solution that can be expected is one that is forced on the Arabs by Israel. If the Israelis and the Americans succeed in achieving this then the entire appearance and aspect of the region will substantially change. We may expect quick reactions. The whole affair will have consequences and will bring about responses.

[Question] What do you have in mind?

[Answer] I am thinking of changes in the superpowers' spheres of influence. The situation is extremely dangerous now. We have reached an historic turning point in political, military and strategic terms. This is now primarily a battle of weapons. This is a battle of the quality of weapons and not of ideas. After all, it is not principles but weapons that have a say in war-time.

[Question] Yes, but principles and people are also important. Namely, why and for what purpose people use weapons.

[Answer] Principles? Well, Israel, for example, says about itself that it is a first-class democratic state. Therefore, it cannot accept, as it says, that a pro-Soviet Palestinian state should be established on its borders. Now, to prevent this it deploys its army and modern arsenal day-by-day to murder its Arab neighbors in Lebanon, Egypt or Jerusalem. It does this day after day. This is simply unbearable.

[Question] So, you think that only a military solution is possible in the Middle East?

[Answer] Yes, only a military solution is possible. If I said that there could be a political solution then this would be merely a waste of time. The fact that Israel knows only the language of arms is a proof of this. After all, Begin did not send a love letter to Yasir 'Arafat, telling him "Come on, Yasir, let us go to Monte Carlo or the UN and let us discuss matters." Oh no, Israel simply invaded Lebanon, using American weapons, on the basis of American and Israeli plans. [end recording]

[Chrudinak] Earlier, we agreed with Hasany Haykal, former editor-in-chief of AL-AHRAM, to meet in Alexandria. However, before the interview could take place Haykal told us with regret that, on seeing the Lebanese tragedy, he had completely withdrawn from all political and journalistic activity. He does not even listen to the radio and is not prepared to talk even to members of his family or his friends about what has happened. In his view, everyone has betrayed the Arab cause over Lebanon and, if he were to say anything, he could only utter curses. He said, in bidding farewell, that an era had come to an end in the Arab world.

We talked to Khalid Muhyi ad-Din about the causes and consequences of the crisis. He is a leading figure of the Egyptian opposition is the legendary red officer of the commanders' council of the 1952 Egyptian revolution.

[Begin recording] [Muhyi ad-Din in Arabic fading into Hungarian translation] The question arises now as to whether the special relations established with the Americans have any value at all. They are not worth anything. Almost the entire Arab world has good relations with America yet this does not prevent America from arming Israel and from accepting the conditions dictated by Israel for settling the Lebanese question.

[Chrudinak] What kind of changes can this challenge bring about?

[Muhyi ad-Din] In my view it will initiate a new people's movement in the Arab world.

[Question] Do you have revolution in mind?

[Answer] It is in the nature of things that a radical anti-imperialist movement which will oppose the existing Arab regimes should once again evolve. The situation is such that we now have nothing to lose. We are not afraid of anything.

[Question] What will happen to the Palestinians?

[Answer] The Palestinian movement will resist until it is liquidated by military means in Lebanon. However, it will continue to exist even after that as a political movement struggling against occupation. This is a fundamental issue. The political resistance movement of the Palestinian people has achieved great international recognition in recent years. It will have to exploit this to achieve a possible political solution. Pressure is already being brought to bear on it to ensure that this settlement is reached within the Camp David framework.

[Question] Would that come about with the establishment of a provisional government?

[Answer] No, having a Palestinian government is only one among a number of solutions. It would legalize the presence of Palestinians in one of the Arab countries. Therefore, they may establish a government in a place such as Tunis. This is very likely; after all, the Arab League also has its headquarters in that city. A Palestinian government is feasible.

[Question] Would that include Yasir 'Arafat?

[Answer] This is possible. So, there are now two trends in the Arab world. According to one of these, the most feasible arrangement is the path of Camp David, the acceptance of the fait accompli. However, this does not provide for a solution of the Palestinian issue. The other trend totally condemns Egypt. There can be no doubt that Camp David and Egyptian policies are one

of the causes of the events that have taken place in Lebanon. They constitute one of the most important causes, but by no means the only one.

There are also other causes. The Arab world has destroyed the oil weapon by overproduction. The Iraq-Iran war has wasted the material resources of the Arab world. In the course of 2 years \$36 billion has been spent on the war. This money could have been used to support the countries belonging to the steadfastness front or Egypt. Moreover, the differences between the Arab countries and the serious divisions that exist put the Arab world in the weakest possible position at the time of the invasion of Lebanon. Israel chose the most convenient time and grabbed its prey.

[Question] Is it possible that Egyptian-Israeli relations could reach a state of crisis?

[Answer] They are already in a state of crisis and will further deteriorate. This is unavoidable.

[Question] What can Egypt do in this situation?

[Answer] Excuse me for making this remark, but you always ask me about the current situation. Nothing can be perceived at present. If everything remains as it is now, then there is no hope. However, if the situation were to change of it, for example, Egypt had an independent economy, then her policy would also change vis-a-vis Israel and America.

[Question] Is there a need, first of all, for social change in Egypt?

[Answer] There is a need for this not only in Egypt, but in the entire Arab world. Only internal changes can make it possible for the Arab world to find a suitable solution for its national problem. We cannot hope for anything without this. [end recording]

CSO: 4500/221

INTERIOR MINISTER DISCUSSES DOMESTIC ISSUES AT INTERVIEW

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 2 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] Hojjatoleslam Nateq-Nuri, the interior minister, answered the questions of our ETTELA'AT correspondent in an exclusive interview.

In this interview, the interior minister explained in detail the new bylaws for the activities of political parties and groups, the 10-article regulations of the office of the prosecutor-general of the revolution, the new plan for the new divisions within the country, the future national elections, the programs of the law enforcement units, the issue of public security, the authority of governors-general, the uncovering of the conspiracies of the enemies, crimes, and many other issues.

Let us read together the questions of our correspondent and the answers of the interior minister:

New Programs

Question: Since the authority of commander-in-chief of the law enforcement forces has been conferred upon you, what new programs do you have in mind for the committees, the police department and the gendarmerie?

[Answer] In the name of God, the compassionate and the merciful. Greetings to the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, the revered imam, and greetings to all the martyrs. The authority which the leadership and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces has conferred upon me in relation to the law enforcement forces concerns the work which we were able to do in the law enforcement agencies up to now. The laws had tied our hands and the authority belonged to the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, who was kind enough to free our hands to make the necessary changes in these agencies. Thusfar, some work has been done, promotions have been made, and we know that to change the law enforcement agencies, we must use the young and, at the same time, committed and ideological forces. With the authority which

has been conferred on us, we will be able to give these promotions after consulting the respected president. On the basis of their competence and commitment, we can promote them as rapidly as possible and give them responsibilities. This can create a change in the forces. Some of this has already been done. God willing, later on, we will make more use of these young, committed and ideological forces.

In regards to the committees, no change has been made yet and in regards to the bylaws of the committees, there are presently discussions under way between the Ministry of Interior and the central committee. It has been decided that in a joint session, these issues will be resolved through an exchange of views. Also, the Ministry of Interior has not thusfar directly taken over the committees. God willing, in meetings that we will have with Mr Mahdavi-Kani, the necessary decisions in regards to the committees will be made and, if necessary, God willing, we will have an audience with the imam for instructions.

Activities of Political Parties and Groups

Question: At what stage are the new bylaws for the activities of political parties and groups and what are the details of the new regulations in this regard?

Answer: The law for parties and groups was ratified by the Majlis months ago, during the time when I was also in the Majlis. The writing of the bylaws was conferred on the Ministry of Interior. The Ministry of Interior prepared the first draft of the bylaws and presented it to the Cabinet. As is customary, the Cabinet sent it to the political defense committee, which approved it after discussions and examinations and sent it back to the Cabinet. God willing, it will be discussed there and after the final approval, it will be given to the Ministry of Interior for implementation.

These bylaws clearly state that in regards to parties and groups, on the basis of the law of the Majlis, the founders must be identified and their records must be investigated. Meanwhile, all members other than the board of directors or the central committee of the party or group must be identified, files must be established for them in the Ministry of Interior, their records must be investigated, and the goals of the party or group and their policies must be clarified in order for us to know in what areas they intend to work. Also, their internal bylaws and charters must be clearly stated and then given to the Ministry of Interior for examination and final approval. God willing, they will be investigated in conformity with the implementary bylaws of the Ministry of Interior and if they do not conform to those regulations, they will be rejected. God willing, after the

bylaws are given to us and we are authorized to implement them, we will, naturally, put them at the disposal of everyone.

10-Article Regulations

Question: What of the 10-article regulations of the Prosecutor's Office in connection with the new bylaws for the activities of political parties and groups?

Answer: The 10-article regulations of the Prosecutor's Office were announced or devised exactly at a time when the laws for the parties and groups had not yet been ratified. At the same time, we needed to have some regulations for the parties. The Revolution Prosecutor's Office devised these regulations under revolutionary conditions and announced them. And they were and still are legal. Naturally, when the implementary bylaws of the laws for parties is announced to us and we are responsible for implementing the laws for parties and groups, then the law for parties will supercede the 10-article regulations of the Prosecutor's Office and they will no longer be valid.

Interim Elections

Question: When will the interim elections of the Majlis take place?

Answer: The preparations for the interim elections have been made and they could have taken place months ago. But, as I said a few days ago in the Majlis in connection with an article which we offered to the Majlis for elections, we are trying to have the interim elections and the election of the experts take place at the same time. From a political, economic, and social standpoint as well as that of sparing the people's time and that of the forces, this will be more feasible. Hence, we are waiting for the preparations for [the election of] the experts to be made, God willing, which we will try to complete before the end of Ramazan [mid July]. However, the day and time will be announced later.

More Security in Various Areas

Question: What are the new programs of the law enforcement agencies for creating more security in various areas of the country?

Answer: The law enforcement agencies have made certain decisions in cooperation and coordination with the Guards Corps and the Revolution Prosecutor's Office. They have held meetings and have reached a common final outlook. God willing, in practice, it will become clear what the results will be. New decisions have been made and new coordination among the forces has been

established, which will prevent interference in the work of others and provide for more law enforcement agents. Also, with this coordination and the presence of such forces, the roots of the counterrevolution will, with the grace of God, be destroyed and more security provided.

The interior minister added: On a trip that I made some time ago to eastern Azarbaijan, I asked for the records of the police department of Tabriz. Fortunately, in the course of one week, there had been only one robbery. This was a very hopeful sign, because it showed that they were alert and that the law enforcement forces are active. But in Tehran [Province], especially in some of the other cities, the number of robberies exceed the number of fingers. However, there have been a series of robberies related to the counterrevolution. This is not ordinary robbery, but political robbery. In other words, it is quite clear that the minigroups engage in armed robbery in order to show that there is no security and to take political advantage of such actions. It would seem that these robberies are more political than criminal. With the coordination between the law enforcement agencies and the Prosecutor's Office, God willing, the roots of such robberies will be destroyed.

The Authority of Governors-General

Question: Presently, what is the authority of the governors-general in relation to government organizations, taking into consideration the authority of the ministers?

Answer: When a minister wants to choose a representative or a director-general for a province, he does it by himself and does not require the vote or approval of the Cabinet. However, I, as interior minister, do not choose a governor-general by myself. I offer a proposal to the Cabinet; all the members vote; and with a majority and sometimes a unanimous vote, they are chosen. Naturally, a governor-general who is elected by the entire Cabinet is the representative of all the members and the government in the region. Hence, his authority exceeds that of a director-general. A governor-general is the political representative of the government, responsible for security, supervisor of offices and directors-general, and if, God forbid, he sees violations by the law enforcement agencies or other offices, he has the right to guide, to warn, and to reprimand them. If this is not effective, he must contact the related minister to solve the problem. And if the problem is still unresolved, a governor-general has the right to inform the authority in the Ministry of Interior to pursue the matter in the Cabinet. Suppose, for example, a director-general somewhere is, in the opinion of the governor-general, incompetent and does not show the necessary coordination with the institutions or the Governor-General's Office. This might trigger a political

problem. The governor-general should follow the same steps. If they are not effective, he can raise the issue in the Cabinet through me or another authority in the Ministry of Interior in my place and solve the problem.

Security on the Borders

Question: Does the gendarmerie have a new plan to establish complete security along the borders of the country?

Answer: In regards to the borders, you know that Iran is blessed with many borders, extensive land and water borders. To secure the borders, it is not as simple as having, for instance, 2 guard stations at 1 point and 10 guard stations at another. Even during the past regime, which was not under revolutionary conditions, was not new, and had been dominating and had created oppression, you know that you could easily come and go across the borders. At least in regards to Sistan and Baluchestan, which includes a large part of our borders, we have more security than during the previous regime. We have been especially successful in the fight against smuggling and in dealing with the counterrevolutionaries which cross that border. However, the issue of our borders is broad and deep. Which is to say, to protect the borders, it is insufficient just to have an active gendarmerie there. In the Security Council, we have discussed the borders in various meetings and various committees have been formed and certain decisions have been made, the results of which, God willing, will be given to the Security Council by the committees. On the basis of this, some decisions will be made, God willing, in regards to the water and land borders.

Uncovering Conspiracies

Question: What role have the law enforcement organizations played or do they play in uncovering the conspiracies of the enemies of the Islamic revolution of Iran?

Answer: In this connection, the law enforcement organizations must be divided. We have a problem in the west of the country, in Kurdistan and western Azarbaijan, in which the local gendarmerie has joint bases, guard stations, and groups with the military and the Guards Corps and operates in fighting bandits, such as Kumeleh, the Democrats, the Feda'i minority guerrillas, and the like. They are also engaged with the Ba'thists and play an effective role--for instance, in opening the road to Baneh and Sardasht; you know that the road was closed for more than two years. Recently, by the grace of God and with the blessing of the military, law enforcement, and Guards Corps forces, the road was opened. The gendarmerie played a role in opening the Baneh road. In connection with the cities in regions other than those above, such as those west of Kurdistan, the presence of our law

enforcement forces, by the grace of God, is very significant. You know that dealing with counterrevolutionaries and the hypocrites is done not only by the committees and guards corps, but the police brothers as well. The special force of the police department in particular has had clashes with and has arrested and killed a significant number of the hypocrites. A few days ago, four members of the special force of the police department were martyred in an incident on the expressway. Thusfar, the counterrevolution has not bothered the police. It had hoped to absorb them or to put them off until later by leaving them alone and by tactical retreat. However, fortunately, the police of the Islamic Republic acted worthily, as they should, and disappointed the counterrevolution. They realized that they cannot use this force by tactics of retreat or provide the grounds for the future, so they had to treat them the way they treat the Guards Corps. You see that we have skirmishes in front of banks. You saw that some time ago, several of our policemen were martyred as a result of confrontation and resistance.

Difficulties of Illegal Entry

Question: What is the plan of the Ministry of Interior regarding foreigners who illegally enter the country and cause problems?

Answer: Foreigners who enter the country are of two groups. One group consists of our Afghan brothers and sisters who have become refugees as a result of the crimes of the government and its masters in Afghanistan. They come to Iran and we accept them with open arms. This is our humane, Islamic mission. Our policy of neither Eastern nor Western dictates that we go to the aid of those oppressed people who struggle under the boots of both the West and the East and welcome them, which we have done thusfar.

But, it is natural that with the entry of our Afghan Muslim brothers and sisters seeking asylum in Iran, a number might even be spies for the government of Afghanistan and a number could be spies for the United States. They sometimes engage in actions such as murder and robbery to damage the reputation of our suffering and oppressed Afghan Muslim brothers and sisters. We know this very well and we have a council for coordination of the Afghans, which investigates all the problems of these dear people. They investigate and we analyze the issue and we do not look at everyone equally or treat them the same way. Certain decisions have been made in regards to the Afghan brothers and sisters so that they know what to do and who to turn to. God willing, they will be gathered and located in special places to engage in their cultural, non-cultural, and economic work and use their own energy in their own interests.

On the other hand, there are the Iraqi brothers and sisters who take refuge with us or have done so and those who were deported

from Iraq whom we also welcome as we do the Afghan brothers and sisters. Our governors-general on the borders are taking care of them. For instance, some time ago, when Iraq deported a number of people, the governor-general of Bakhtaran and our officials were there to welcome them. They had been badly treated and the weather was cold at that time. At night, these people had confronted counterrevolutionary bandits and Iraqi mercenaries. They had even been attacked and mistreated by the bandits and the Ba'thist forces. In this condition, our brothers and officials welcomed them. We established camps for them and they are now in those camps. However, there are a number of people who are international smugglers or spies who enter the country. They are not even one of us. In this case, we treat them as we do others. People of this kind who enter illegally and unlawfully are either spies or smugglers. Any one of them that we capture, we deal with according to the law.

Gendarmerie Guard Stations

Question: What is the situation with the creation of gendarmerie guard stations in the liberated regions and what is their role in the war against the Ba'thist heathens and the reconstruction of the war-stricken regions?

Answer: During those days when our forces conquered the centers one after another, I visited the guard stations, which was beneficial in several ways. First, they are forces present in the guard stations and present on the front; therefore, they are of a high caliber. In one area, they can play the role of both soldiers and law enforcement officials. In addition, reconstruction will begin very soon and the forces that must keep order will again be our brothers both at the border guard stations and places other than the border guard stations.

You know that more than 20,000 of our villages have been destroyed and the construction crusade has been given the responsibility for reconstructing them. Our villagers will return. They will have problems. Various issues will be raised and there needs to be a force in the villages, that is, a gendarmerie. Furthermore, they offer them the psychological support of knowing that the situation is gradually getting back to normal there. At the same time, there are mine fields. The enemy hoped to hurt us after leaving and placed mines in the channels and in the region. Hence, the presence of this law enforcement force can play a role in this regard as well. In connection with the reconstruction of the war-stricken regions, a headquarters has been established for this purpose, in which the related minister, the construction crusade, the related revolutionary institutions, and the foundation for war refugees will participate. I am in charge of the headquarters. Meanwhile, there is a supreme council on which the prime minister

and I serve as representatives of the imam. This council supervises all the reconstruction. Also, an office has been established in the Ministry of Interior, and, God willing, it will be announced that every guild or institution that wants to work in the war-stricken regions and participate in the reconstruction programs must contact this office to have their work coordinated so that there will be no interference in work and responsibilities and no waste of forces or funds.

The Imam's Directives

Question: What was discussed in your last meeting with the imam and what directives did he give?

Answer: In my last meeting with the imam, I was with the president and the speaker of the Majlis. We had gone together for an audience with the imam and issues concerning [the election of] the experts were raised. We had questions in this regard. The imam gave excellent directives, as his directives always are, which were useful for our decision-making in regards to [the election of] the experts.

The Election of the Experts

Question: Have the preparations and the law for the election of the experts been made and if so, what are the important points?

Answer: In regards to the experts, you know that the necessary election law and internal bylaws must be prepared by the Council of Guardians, which devised the internal bylaws. There will be 1 expert from every province unless the number of people exceeds 1 million, in which case, for every 500,000 people, 1 person will be added. For the whole of Iran, according to the census available, about 61-62 representatives and experts will be elected. The qualifications of those eligible for election are that they be known to be religious and morally competent and that they be completely familiar with the basis of religious jurisprudence, having had educational training in the great theological centers, which will enable them to identify the competent individuals as sources of emulation and leadership. They must have political and social awareness and know about the issues of the day. They must believe in the regime of the Islamic Republic and have an unblemished political and social record.

The electors must be citizens of the Islamic Republic and a full 16 years of age. However, the qualifications of the elected and the experts will be determined by three of the scholars and teachers of Qom theological center, who will decide whether the person is known in this work, is familiar with the foundations of

Islam and religious jurisprudence, or has the ability to identify the leader and source of emulation.

Each one of the experts must be chosen by three of the members of Qom theological center and its teachers. The implementary bylaws of the experts has been prepared in some 28 articles and several notes.

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CSO: 4640/340

IRAN

IRAQ DEMANDED 'TO PROVIDE PASSAGE FOR IRANIAN FORCES'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 12 Jun 82 p 3

[Text] At the end of the last session of the Supreme Council for Defense, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani referred to the success of the Iranian political-military delegation to Syria and announced the conditions set by Iran to end the imposed war of Iraq on Iran. He emphasized that since we have no access to the Israeli borders to enable us to transfer our armed forces rapidly to Syria, this is one of our important conditions.

According to a report by the correspondent of the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, the meeting of the Supreme Council for Defense was held at the residence of the imam with the participation of the Iranian delegation to Syria, other members of the Supreme Council for Defense, and Hojjatoleslam Seyyed Ahmad Khomeyni. In this meeting, the results of the trip of the political-military delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Syria to end the war were studied and discussed.

Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani explained the issues discussed after the session in an interview with the correspondent of the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. In response to the questions of what issues were raised in the meeting of the Supreme Council for Defense by the military delegation of the Islamic Republic, which had gone to Syria for the purpose of coordination, and what the positive results were of the delegation's trip, he said:

This delegation reported to the Council and immediately afterwards, we met with the imam and presented him with the report. He added: On the whole, this delegation was very successful and satisfied, because first of all, Iran is the first Islamic country which has come to the scene of battle, especially on the level of high command, and has declared its readiness with all its resources to defend Lebanon and the Islamic countries. Mr Rafsanjani added: Fortunately, the Syrian government treated the Iranian delegation very well and welcomed them warmly. The mass media in Syria reported the mission of the delegation very well and the delegation was successful in coordinating future war

plans in both the short and long terms with Syria and the people's forces there and in preparing a plan.

He added: The unfortunate issue which was pointed out by the delegation is that despite the large scale aggression of Israel on Lebanon--according to even their own estimates, about 40 percent of the Israeli forces are being employed in Lebanon--and despite the fact that Israel commits extraordinary cruelty--it bombards an area with 100 airplanes and with different kinds of bombs, burns cities, villages, and camps and has caused many casualties-- unfortunately, no one from the Islamic world--with the exception of Iran, which rapidly made itself available there--has taken any steps.

He added: Syria is on the front, yet the rest of the Islamic countries have dealt with the problem only in talk. This is most unfortunate. Mr Rafsanjani added: In any case, the members of this delegation, in addition to having obtained good information, were quite successful in their programs.

The Main Difficulty in Sending Forces

The representative of the imam in the Supreme Council for Defense said in response to the question of what practical steps will be taken by the Islamic Republic of Iran to fight the Zionist regime following the delegation's trip which was welcomed by the Syrian authorities: Obviously, Iran is some distance from there and because of the difficulties in regards to the roads, we cannot directly be in charge of the war. We must be there at the side of Syria, the Palestinians, and whoever wants to fight, as an aid.

Referring to the point that the government of Syria has determined that we can be present as volunteers at their side, he added:

They have not felt the need for the presence of our disciplined conventional army and we have welcomed their suggestion. It has been decided that our volunteers should make themselves available as soon as possible to take part in the holy war alongside their Palestinian and Syrian brothers.

Sending the First Group of Iranian Volunteers

In response to the question of whether any decisions have been made in regards to sending the first group of Iranian volunteers, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani said:

The decision has been made in this regard and we will send the volunteers who have already announced their readiness. One of our problems is that we have no passage to the battle front with

Israel because we must obtain permission, whether we go by land or air. The situation with regards to Iraq is obvious and the same goes for the countries south of the Persian Gulf. He added: In any case, we hope that with the new condition that we have included in our peace conditions with Iraq, we will be able to find adequate passage.

Changes in the Leadership of Iraq and the Cease-fire Proposal

In response to the question of what the aim is of the rumors made up by the imperialist mass media in regards to the changes in the top leadership of Iraq and the proposal for a cease-fire by the Iraqi rulers, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: The situation with Iraq is vague. A communique was issued in the name of the commanding council of Iraq, which had always been signed by Saddam before. On the other hand, there are rumors, mostly spread by Western sources, which say Saddam is either there or not there. It is all very vague. Perhaps it will soon be clarified. The Western sources have reported what has been freely broadcast from our radio or texts from the radio as the views of the government. Thusfar, we have not stated our views, because the internal situation of Iraq is unclear. It appears that certain actions are taking place there. Whether Saddam is or is not on the scene is, in fact, a conspiracy which, along with the situation created in Israel, they are trying to use to save the Ba'th party of Iraq along with Saddam. Mr Rafsanjani added: The opinion of the Supreme Council for Defense is that we should report, once again, what we have said before. We want peace more than Iraq does. We feel more than anyone else the urgency to be present at the front to fight Israel and we consider it a religious duty. But, we consider the situation created by Iraq a great danger. This issue must be resolved. The aggressor must be punished and the oppressed must regain their rights. We will not back down from our conditions. If they leave our land, one condition will have been met.

He added: Other conditions include the payment for damages, which we will certainly obtain. Another is that the guilty be punished. For this, we are prepared to refer to the International Commission or the Islamic international court to punish the guilty party, which is none other than the Ba'th party. Another is the return of the Iraqi refugees to their own country.

New Conditions Set by Iran

Mr Rafsanjani added: Now, we have added another condition. Since we have no passage to the borders of Israel, they must provide us with passage through Iraq in order for us to be able to rapidly transfer our armed forces to Syria. This is one of our important conditions, because we foresee the involvement,

after the war with Iraq, in Israel. We consider this passage an urgent necessity and the Islamic governments must help us to obtain it.

The Amount in Damages

In response to a question concerning the damages in Iran and what steps will be taken by our Islamic combatants to receive retribution for the damages, he said: The amount of damages is not precisely known and has not yet been calculated. However, according to observers and those who understand the nature of these wars and know the losses in terms of airplanes, tanks, instruments of war, the destruction of cities and roads, factories, harbors, and other issues, the figure is calculated at \$150 billion, which was also stated by the president. Naturally, when it [Iraq] has agreed to make retribution, a commission acceptable to both sides must be established to study the damages and determine the amount. To retrieve it, in the same way that we forced them out, if they refuse to pay, we will get it by force. Whether they have the money or not, arrangements can be made to enable them to pay. The speaker of the Majlis said in regards to the possibility of holding the conference of non-aligned countries in Baghdad, which was mentioned in the agenda of the meeting of the ministers: It is inappropriate for the conference of non-aligned nations, which considers one of the conditions for membership to be non-aggression on another non-aligned nation, to be held in an aggressor country where the government of aggressors remains and then, for this aggressor to become the head of this movement. We oppose this and our actions in this regard are political, since this is not the place to use force. In any case, in our opinion, Baghdad is not capable of insuring the necessary security and is not a safe place for this conference, unless the government of Iraq should change and a competent government be created, in which case, we will also participate.

In response to the question of the correspondent of the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY who asked what the position of the Islamic Republic would be should Saddam unilaterally withdraw his forces from our Islamic country after a cease-fire, the representative of the imam in the Supreme Council for Defense said: In that case, one of our conditions, which was the unconditional withdrawal of the aggressive forces, will have been met and we will continue our efforts to have our other conditions met, which are, a passage to Jerusalem, the return of Iraqi refugees, and the establishment of a commission for the punishment of the aggressor and the payment of retribution.

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SARBAND-LARI-ARDABIL ROAD LINK NO 4 REACHING COMPLETION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 20 May 82 p 13

[Text] The 37-km Sarband-Lari-Ardabil road link No 4 is one of the projects of the Ministry of Roads and Transport which is successfully under construction under the supervision of the consulting engineers of "Rahvar" company. Thusfar, more than 75 percent of the work has been completed and all operations will finish by the end of the current year when it will be ready for use. The head of the workshop of "Keshan Construction Company," the contractor of the above-mentioned road, provided details concerning the technical specifications and the method for implementing the construction operations of Sarband-Lari-Ardabil road link No 4, which you will read in the following.

He first pointed out the importance and the necessity of building secondary and main roads, describing them as the most important factor for economic development. In the developed world of today, roads are considered vital arteries from an economic standpoint and those countries which have good, essential systems of roads are able to benefit from a strong economy. In this connection, the Sarband-Ardabil road, considering that it connects the cities of eastern Azarbaijan to the fertile region of Dasht-e Moghan, which is considered the largest agricultural and animal husbandry area in the Middle East, in addition to making it possible for the people of the region to travel, can play an effective role in the blossoming of the economy of the northwestern region in particular and the whole country in general. Then, he briefly explained the specifications of the Sarband-Lari-Ardebil road link and added: This road is a total of 206 km long and has cut across the Aslanduz-Parsabad road (about 1 km from the Sarband gendarmerie guard station in the direction of Parsabad). Going through several cities and villages on its way, it ends in Ardabil. Along the course of this road,

about 710 bridges and large and small water channels have been built or are under construction. Also, a large tunnel has been dug along the Qarehaqaj Pass. Finally, for the construction of the Sarband-Lari-Ardabil road link, a budget amounting to 3,532 million rials has been projected, which can be increased up to 25 percent.

Technical Specifications of Link No 4

He then explained about the technical specifications and the steps taken since the beginning of the operations on Link No 4 and said: As I mentioned earlier, the construction operations for Sarband-Lari-Ardabil road link No 4 were conferred on the Keshan Company. The contract for the construction of the road began during the period 21 March 1978-20 March 1979 simultaneous with the revolutionary movement of the Iranian people and the formation of the Islamic revolution. Thusfar, despite the unfavorable climate of the region in winter, during which practically four months out of a year, road building operations are impossible, with the efforts of the committed and hardworking fellow employees, we have been able to carry out about 87 percent of the original estimated amount of the contract successfully. Presently, work on the road bed is near completion. Since some time ago, about two-thirds of the course has been ready to be asphalted. However, because of rain, this step has been postponed. God willing, as soon as the local rainfall stops (probably in late spring of this year), the asphaltting operations will begin. We hope to complete the asphaltting of the road before winter in order to be able to make Link No 4 operational by the end of the current year at the latest.

165 Large and Small Bridges

Along the course of Link No 4, a total of about 165 bridges and channels of up to 20 meters have been built. The largest has five 15-meter openings on Qarahsu and another three 20-meter openings have been built at the 60 km mark of the Sarband-Lari-Ardabil road link. Also, a pedestrian bridge (overpass) has been built along this link. It should be explained that the bridges which have been constructed by the company are all completed and will become operational along with the completion of the operations on the road.

Difficulties in Implementation

The head of Keshan Company workshop, in continuing his explanations, pointed out the working conditions and existing implementary difficulties and said: In implementing the road building operations for Sarband-Lari-Ardabil road link No 4, we faced a series of problems and shortcomings. Among them, the cold climate and atmospheric conditions of the region, on the one

hand, would halt construction operations for at least three months. Furthermore, the construction operations faced some difficulties since the road passes through the aquiferous regions along the slopes of the Sabalan Mountains. Of course, it must be mentioned that most of the problems concerning the technical construction have been eliminated as the operations progressed. However, the most important problem at the present time for our company and all the construction and road building companies is the problem of the shortage and scarcity of road building equipment, including large and small vehicles and road building machinery, as well as the shortage and high prices of the spare parts needed. This problem has put the contractors and the operators of the road building projects in a bind and they are, consequently, unable to make progress as rapidly as they should in the projects conferred on them. For this reason, the respected authorities of the Ministry of Roads and other related organizations should take the proper steps to eliminate this meddlesome problem in the developmental affairs of the country which will also prevent the unacceptable practices of some of the profiteers and hoarders of machinery spare parts who have taken advantage of the opportunity to stockpile these spare parts, and which will help us progress in the developmental goals of our country at this juncture in time when our country needs communication networks. Also, I suggest that, if possible, the government should itself take steps to import road construction machinery and the needed spare parts for the operators of the developmental projects. After their entry, it can put the machinery and the parts, in any form or under any regulations which it finds appropriate, at the disposal of the contractors. If this proposal is not practical, the proper authorities must, if possible, control the market for equipment and road construction spare parts because the price of spare parts is rising uncontrollably and these high prices are doubling every day.

Expediting the Payment of Balances

The head of the workshop for Sarband-Lari-Ardabil road link No 4 expressed his thanks, in conclusion, for the steps taken by the Ministry of Roads and Transport to expedite payments and added: We request that the payment of the balances and the differences of prices be revised, given the present rate of inflation, wage increases, and high prices of construction materials and spare parts, which in certain cases reaches 200-300 percent, in order to enable us to continue our work and provide for the expenses of various projects underway.



The concrete bridge constructed over the Qarehsu River. This bridge was built by Keshan Construction Company and has five 15-meter openings.



The asphalt factory, with a capacity of 160 tons per hour, the installation and operation of which has been done by Iranian workers.

9593

CSO: 4640/319

VICTORY SEEN SPREADING KHOMEYNI'S INFLUENCE IN GULF

Zurich DIE WELTWOCHEN in German No 24 16 Jun 82 p 11

[Article by Andreas Kohlschuetter: "Anxiety on the Gulf"]

[Text] The Iranian victory over the Iraqis has altered the political situation in the Near East. The conservative Arab regimes are afraid of the growing influence of Iran which Khomeini is trying to exploit to the hilt.

Abu Dhabi—"For Baghdad, the war is lost; for Tehran, the victories are just beginning." This estimate of the situation by an Omani minister reflects the fears which beset the Arab gulf states in the face of continuing victories of the Khomeini regime. By contributing \$ 22 billion to Saddam Hussein's war chest and by massively supplying him with all kinds of equipment—via Kuwait, Jordan and by air freight—the oil sheiks had done their duty as Arabs. They had mentally suppressed the war crisis in the hope, traditional to Bedouins, that time would take care of their problems and free them from having to make painful decisions.

But then, the "forgotten war" became so palpable and loud that it no longer did any good to close one's ears to it or to stick one's head in the sand. As the final point of the "Jerusalem offensive" they had started on 30 April, the Iranians overran the strategic port city of Khorramshahr the conquest of which had taken the Iraqis 4 weeks in the late fall of 1980. The last defense plans of the Baghdad expeditionary forces collapsed like a house of cards in the shattered and ravaged "city of blood." 20 months earlier, these forces had gone out to gain twofold booty for Saddam Hussein, the dictator on the Tigris who thirsted after pan-Arabic stature and leadership. They were to gain sole possession and "full sovereignty" over the Shatt-al-Arab access to the Gulf which had had to be shared with Iran since 1975 and they were to bring down the revolutionary Khomeini regime which was fostering religious and social unrest in Iraq and the other Gulf states.

Home-grown Iraqi incompetence, the fear of Saddam Hussein's emasculated officer corps to make decisions on its own and apathy among the rank-and-file were mixed in with the ponderousness of Russian training and doctrine. There was the mulish statement by a deputy division commander in the central sector near Mehran for example. "If there is no Iranian counterattack within 48 hours of the time we have made our attack, then there will be none. That is what we were taught at the military academy," he said. Then there was the decision not to use the effective Soviet SAM anti-aircraft systems against

low-flying Iranian aircraft for fear of hitting their own aircraft. Then there was the fat armored forces colonel along the way to Dezful who had his men bring up easy chairs, whisky and a huge television set to the front lines and boasted about making his contribution to the liberation of Palestine and Jerusalem there. And then there was Saddam Hussein's unsuccessful attempt suddenly to make friends with his subjects after decades of police state repression and to turn the war of aggression he had haughtily started into a people's war.

Anyone who had eyes could see all along that Saddam Hussein would suffer military defeat without fail. There is no way the Arab Gulf states, these silent, spendthrift partners in the dismal Iraqi venture, can get around the fact that they did not. Now, at the end, Saddam Hussein is portraying himself much as an opposition caricature in the Baghdad suburb of Dshadria did soon after the war started—as a fireman standing on a burning heap of rubble with a hose in his hand that spouts no water but only a single, useless drop of it.

Changing Times on the Persian Gulf

A Near Eastern time change is in the offing on the Gulf, that is certain. Diplomatic observers compare it to the historic change resulting from the 6-Day War in 1967. Once the Iranian and Iraqi guns go silent, everyone says, the real "struggle for supremacy in the Gulf region" will just be starting. And it will be a contest between the conservative kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Islamic revolutionary empire of Ayatollah Khomeini.

Iranian threats and attempts to exert pressure are increasing. In Kuwait, Khomeini's ambassador is asking the local chamber of commerce and industry to substitute "Persian Gulf" for "Arabian Gulf" on all shipping documents for goods leaving Kuwait. At the same time, the Tehran newspaper ETTELAAT lends additional weight to this request by pointing to Kuwait's defenselessness. "This tiny, militarily weak state," the newspaper says, "could not resist the forces of Islam for a single day." Khomeini personally pronounces Saudi Prince Fahd's decision to normalize relations with Egypt and his peace plan which recognizes Israel's right to exist as well as the reactivation of the Camp David peace process to be forbidden themes. He calls on the Arab governments to pursue "radical policies" and offers some "brotherly advice" to the sheiks on the Arabian peninsula: "Do not do anything which might force us to convict you according to holy law in the name of the Koran."

In the war of words, the Saudis are resisting energetically while testing diplomatic channels via Damascus and Algiers. Their state radio calls for a holy war against the Khomeini regime and dire accusations are made against the ayatollahs and mullahs in power in Tehran. They are "enemies number one of Islam; symbols of the Devil; gangsters of destruction who are not to be trusted."

But this type of hateful language has by no means supplanted the suppleness of Bedouin and bazaar politics in the area. Leading representatives of the power and financial establishment of the oil kingdoms on the Gulf let it be known that they are quite prepared to accept the signs of the times. They are stressing five main points that will dominate the "post-Khorramshahr era."

Khomeini's revolutionary Islamic republic has turned out to be a surprisingly resilient, strong and permanent structure. In addition, the Iranian religious state must be taken seriously as a regional power which will be exerting more and more influence—the more so since Khomeini, along with Syria, the PLO, Libya and Algeria, has established an alliance which spans the crisis area on the Gulf and that in Palestine.

Khomeini's military and political strength lends a great deal of thrust to Islamic fundamentalism generally—not being restricted to that of the Shi-ites. Secular ideologies like Nasserism, socialism and Baathism are discredited, as are armies as instruments of rational and successful political action. Old-fashioned, anti-modernist, anti-Western Islam is becoming a rallying point for all Arab frustrations. With its anti-monarchist social critique, it poses a threat to the ruling families and to the stability of the Peninsula which is far more immediate than any "Russian danger." The hysterical cries about the latter have even abated in cold-war Oman.

The Gulf region and the Near East are entering an era of heightened tension. The freedom to maneuver on behalf of political moderation is becoming more and more limited. Islamic-Arab maximalism and radicalism are the order of the day, heightened by Jewish arrogance of power, tolerated or even inspired by the Reagan administration and Menachem Begin's dreams of a Greater Israel. There is hardly any way to stop this because the moderate, conservative Arab camp does not have a leader comparable to monumental Ayatollah Khomeini.

There is a lack of regional counter-balances which might offset the Iranian and Syrian gains in power. Iraq does not count—regardless of whether Baghdad is forcibly integrated into the radical Shiite Tehran-Damascus alliance through a change of government or whether it is "merely" neutralized through a simple change of leadership. Saudi Arabia's capacity to figure as a solid, resolute, far-thinking crisis manager leaves more and more to be desired. The kingdom's loss of prestige—as a consequence of betting on the wrong Iraqi horse and urging the smaller nations to do likewise—is plain to see from Kuwait all the way to Oman. For the short term at least, this also leads to a weakening of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

There is a lack of real-political capabilities—such as bringing America and/or Egypt to bear as extra-regional counter-balances on behalf of the moderate, Western-oriented oil sheikdoms. With the exception of isolated Oman which still is free of Palestinian and radical Shiite minorities, the Gulf dynasties are more afraid than ever—after the Khorramshahr eclipse—that they could become the target of radical, fundamentalist wrath, if they expanded their contacts to Washington or Cairo. The epithet "Zionist-lover

and U.S. imperialist-lover could turn out to be death sentences in the Pax Khomeini era the outlines of which can already be made out. Furthermore, Washington has no more leverage than Moscow in influencing the course of events in Iran.

What is the reaction of the Arab littoral states to the fateful challenge posed by Khomeini's victory in the Gulf war? There are few who believe there is cause for deep anxiety or alarm. The probability of a large-scale military offensive and the export of violent revolution beyond the borders of Iran is rated rather low in view of Iranian exhaustion, a Syrian veto and national resistance on the part of the Iraqis. The same applies to uprisings that might threaten existing regimes on the part of Shiite population groups in Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrein and the Emirates who, though they revere Khomeini as a religious leader, would hate to live under his domain. Saddam Hussein—or at least the Baath party—is too well established in Iraq to raise fears of a revolutionary Shiite or pro-Soviet satellite regime.

Compromise Signals Sent to Tehran

Those who favor a readiness to compromise and a policy of coexistence with the Khomeini empire as it casts its shadow upon the Gulf appear to be in the ascendancy. The sharp edges which might give Khomeini pause are being blunted. The verdicts imposed against the insurgents arrested last December and allegedly acting at Tehran's instigation who were planning an uprising in Bahrein were quite mild—with not a single death sentence. The signing of the collective security pact by the Gulf states which is primarily directed against subversion by Iran is postponed. A joint statement by the six Gulf foreign ministers comes out as lukewarm as possible, containing not a single word against Iran or in favor of Iraq. There is evidence of a readiness to finance the war debt and the demands for reparations—even if the latter would have to be scaled down from \$ 150 billion to some more reasonable figure. Transit visa privileges for passengers changing planes are restored to Iran Air. They were taken away from the airline some time ago for illegally flying in Shiite preachers. There is decided interest being expressed by Kuwait, Bahrein and Abu Dhabi these days in non-alignment, neutralism and a discreet arms length attitude toward Saudi Arabia and America.

Rejuvenation of Fossilized Ruling Dynasties

The Khorramshahr earthquake has given a new lease on life particularly to those who want to see the lethargic ruling dynasties on the Gulf institute a more rapid and more resolute rejuvenation of their political systems. One of them, Said Qhobbash, the former UAE ambassador to Washington, who later became minister of planning and now heads the Arab Monetary Fund in Abu Dhabi says: "We must be friends with Iran as well as strong within our own four walls. This calls for a rationalization of our budget, investment, oil and immigration policies. We must slow down the pace and put an end to the mania for bigness which was forced upon us by our so-called friends in the

West. We got carried away by overproduction of oil and the petrodollars. There just is no such thing as running a modern state in the old Bedouin style. It simply does not work."

Whether this transformation will succeed in time--which is to say not by way of a revolution but by way of reforms--that is indeed the cardinal question. There is renewed urgency to it in the oil sheikdoms along the Gulf in the aftermath of the Khorramshahr turning point. The way this question is answered will tell whether these super-rich Third World countries located in this global strategic zone of turbulence will produce more of history than they can handle or whether they will successfully bring off their balancing act.

9478

CSO: 4620/50

BATTERED ECONOMY SHOWING SIGNS OF RECOVERY

Nicosia CYPRUS MAIL in English 11 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Mark Wood]

[Text] Teheran, — Iran's economy is showing signs of recovery after being near collapse as a result of three years of revolutionary turmoil and the strains of war with Iraq.

The key to the revival has been a boost in oil sales. This has provided foreign exchange to buy raw materials and equipment for industries which had ground to a halt or were working at a fraction of capacity, western diplomats in Teheran said.

Oil exports slumped to around 400,000 barrels daily in the early months of the year. They are now around two million barrels daily after a decision to cut prices.

Export earnings have risen more than threefold to 1.8 million dollars a month, balance of payments.

Despite the turnaround, however, food and petrol still have to be rationed in Teheran, a city littered with half-finished construction projects that stand as derelict monuments to the rule of the deposed Shah.

The radical Islamic government has different priorities.

It has set the building industry to work on low-cost housing projects rather than the office blocks and luxury hotels cherished by the Shah.

The oil sales boom is unlikely to bring many benefits to wealthier Iranians, whose living standards have fallen dramatically since the Shah's overthrow.

Imports of the luxury goods which provided an affluent western lifestyle for the upper and middle classes have been banned by a leadership which enjoins an austere and simple life.

But the rise in oil output has reversed a dizzying decline that threatened to bring outright poverty to the whole nation, diplomats say.

Growth

Food imports cost around 300 million dollars a month and arms for the war with Iraq 200 million more, costs that the oil industry was at one point barely able to cover. Last autumn the exchequer ran out of foreign exchange for two weeks.

Oil sales were hit first by production problems and the departure of some technicians. Then Iraq invaded the oil province of Khuzestan. Finally, the world oil glut prompted the desertion of some of Iran's remaining buyers.

In the meantime Iran has secured new oil orders by ignoring OPEC price levels.

Oil still has to account for the bulk of revenue but diplo-

mats say there have been dramatic changes in the internal economic structure since the revolution.

The new leaders have pushed ahead with a rural electrification programme intended to boost agriculture, with the aim of making Iran self-sufficient in food and attracting people back to the countryside from hard-pressed cities.

Teheran's population has soared from four million in 1979 to possibly seven million now, with thousands of unemployed peasants living in shanty towns on the edge of the city.

But although firmly committed to the need for growth, the Islamic leadership is divided on which direction in economic planning it should take and a land reform programme is stalled.

Luxuries

Diplomats say that divisions over a stalled bill to nationalise foreign trade are based on religious disagreements on whether commerce should be controlled by the state or left in private hands.

But they add that the bazaar dwellers form a powerful lobby and are likely to resist any moves towards wholesale state ownership and that the foreign trade law is most likely to turn out a system for licensing imports and exports rather than giving the government full control.

A black market persists with irregular supplies of meat offered at three times official prices.

Prices are more exorbitant for luxuries. Teheran residents Video machines, prized by some in a country where television is a channel for preaching the faith, cost more than 10,000 dollars secondhand. They are liable to be seized if Revolutionary Guards raid the owners' home.

CSO: 4600/580

QOM OFFICE EXPLAINS PLANS TO COORDINATE PROPAGANDA

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 15 May 82 p 14

[Interview with Hojjatoleslam Mohammad 'Aba'i, head of the Islamic Propaganda Office of Qom]



[Text] /Qom, dispatched KEYHAN correspondent--/ [in boldface] Hojjatoleslam Mohammad 'Aba'i, head of the Islamic Propaganda Office of Qom and one of its founders, took part in an interview with the dispatched KEYHAN correspondent and spoke about the various activities of this Office.

In this interview, he also spoke about the reform and formation of the theological center; dispatching propagandists to various regions of the country and abroad; the use and training of personnel such as prosecutors, university professors, and teachers of theology; dispatching forces to the fronts; revolutionary organizations; the budget; the number of martyrs from the Office; and also the personalities who were first engaged in the training division of the above-mentioned Office.

The Activities of the Various Divisions of the Propaganda Office

He first said concerning the history and establishment of the Islamic Propaganda Office: This Office was established by the order of the imam in the spring of 1979. The purpose for which

it was established is nothing more than to develop the goals of the Islamic revolution.

The training division of this Office trains worthy, competent propagandists through its teachers and publicity. This division is also active in artistic affairs, such as poetry, stories, writing styles, research, script writing, graphic designs, the preparation and distribution of religious tapes to all the centers and societies in the country, and also in artistic and cultural affairs for children over radio and television. Also, in the research of the Office, Islamic issues are pursued and we work to identify the forces competent to serve the goals of the revolution and make use of their scientific and practical abilities. In this connection, he said: The dispatch division sends propaganda to various parts of the country year round, including the holy months of Moharram, Ramazan, and Safar. They are especially sent to those spots that, during the time of the tyrant, were poor in regards to Islamic culture. Since at present, we have many volunteers, they are sent to the fronts; to the relocation centers for the war refugees; to military, political, and ideological offices; to crusades, other organizations, and factories.

He also said: This Office does not only work in the area of sending propagandists; because it has influence and connections in the theological center, it has also helped many organizations with manpower. In this connection, 60 prosecutors have been examined and are ready to be sent for a course to the Islamic Revolution Prosecutor-General's Office. Most of the forces of the political and ideological office of the military have been through the training classes of this Office or have been sent by the Office. Many of the trained personnel of the Office carry out their duties in the judicial branch. The Office has trained high school religious teachers and university professors. Hojjatoleslam 'Aba'i also said: Individuals will be sent to appropriate places based on test evaluations. This method, aside from effectively selecting competent individuals, is also very effective from a statistical standpoint. In the past, this was not the case. Forces were accumulated in certain places and other places lacked them or had a shortage in proportion to their needs.

Sending Forces Abroad

Hojjatoleslam 'Aba'i, responding to the question of what the activities and propaganda of the Office have consisted of abroad, said: The Office has had very few people to send abroad. However, presently, 60 persons are being trained in the English division, and more than 100 in Arabic (conversation). These people are very strong in ideology and languages. They will be sent abroad as representatives of the imam, propagandists, or

cultural attaches through the government and will play a valuable role in advancing the goals of the Islamic revolution. He added: During the hajj pilgrimage this year, 40 of these individuals will be sent to Saudi Arabia for Islamic propaganda.

Activities on the Fronts and the Martyrs of the Office

Concerning the number of personnel sent to the war fronts of right against wrong and the martyrs of this Office, he said:

Last year, this Office sent 14,000 persons to places other than the fronts. Some of them were sent to tribal camps and some, in training, were high school religious teachers connected with the Department of Education. In spring of 1982, 500 were sent to the front and behind the front, to factories and mosques to preach. On the war fronts, 150 of them have been martyred. Up to early spring of this year, we had sent 2,000 persons to the front. Presently, the permanent forces of this Office on the front are about 200 combatants and propagandists. Any time Iran intends to attack, our forces are rapidly dispatched. For the recent attack, we sent more than 400 persons. In the victorious operations of Fatholmobin, "from 22-29 March 1982," we had 26 clergymen martyred and 20 injured.

Order and Reform of Center

The head of the Islamic Propaganda Office, in response to the question concerning what propaganda programs and suggestions this Office has in regards to the organization and reform of the center, said: The organization of the center is an issue which was first pointed out by the imam and then pursued by Grand Ayatollah Montazeri. The representatives of the cities along with the teachers' society can form the management of the center, that is, the center as a whole. This Office has in practice begun organizing the office and is one of the pioneers of organization and management in the center. Without having publicized it, it is leading the center to become organized. We hope with the completion of the councils, the presentation of the representatives from the cities to the imam, and the coordination with the teachers' society and the sources of emulation, Ayatollahs Golpayegani, Najafi-Mar'ashi, and Montazeri, true management will materialize.

Publications and the Organ of the Propaganda Office

Concerning the publication of the Office, Hojjatoleslam 'Aba'i said: This Office has publication units in Qom, Yazd, Zanzan, Esfahan, Mashhad, Shiraz, and Tabriz. Thusfar, it has prepared and distributed about 400 copies of lessons in the affiliated units of the above-mentioned cities, which include understanding Islam, economy, government, and the teaching of speech,

psychology, sociology, and beliefs and it has also held some seminars. He added: This Office has 15 publications. Presently, PASDAR-E ESLAM is the monthly organ of this Office. Also, the memorial unit of this Office has prepared about 10,000 pictures and posters of each of the martyred clergymen (150 martyrs), a total of 1.5 million. It has also published 380,000 pictures of the imam and 538 posters for [the celebration of] Ayyamollah [God's Days], 2 million tracts during God's Days, 169,000 pictures of the great Shi'ite scholars, and 21,000 copies of 'Ali's (peace be upon him) will. It will soon publish pamphlets with the biographies of all the martyred Shi'ite scholars.

The Sources for the Directives and the Founders of the Office

Concerning the directives and the guiding affairs of the Islamic Propaganda Office of Qom, he said: This Office was established by the order of the imam. In accordance with the imam's instructions, the council of the Office makes decisions on minor issues and in important issues, in accordance with the instructions of the imam, Ayatollah Montazeri and Ayatollah Meshkini or the teachers' society, and in vitally important issues, the imam himself is contacted. The spiritual guide of this Office, other than the imam, has been Ayatollah Montazeri. The young scholars and theological students are the implementary force of this Office, who manage it truthfully.

Concerning the founders of the office, Hojjatoleslam 'Aba'i said: The Office was founded with the cooperation of those friends who were fellow combatants during the revolution. These people consist of Messers Fahim-Kermani; Musavi-Tabrizi, the revolution prosecutor-general; Reyshahri, the military prosecutor; martyr Haqqani, the representative of the imam in Bandar 'Abbas and representative in the Majlis; Ja'fari-Gilani, one of the scholars of the Qom theological center; and myself (Hojjatoleslam Mohammad 'Aba'i). Presently, Mr Ja'fari and I (Hojjatoleslam 'Aba'i) are in charge of managing this Office. Some of the scholars also help. In the educational division of this Office, teachers such as martyr Beheshti, Hojjatoleslam Khameneh'i, Rafsanjani, Javadi-Amoli, Taheri, Khaz'ali, Meshkini, Jalaloddin Farsi, Mohammad Yazdi, Makarem-Shirazi, and Sobhani have cooperated. In this division thusfar, 400 research and analytical subjects have been taught, which have been distributed on tapes.

Concerning the budget of the Office, he said: The budget of this Office is provided by the help of the people, donations from tithing funds, and the government budget which is related to the propaganda division of religious endowments.

9593

CSO: 4640/322

MANNER OF EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN CRITICIZED

GF220940 Tehran International Service in Turkish 1830 GMT 21 Jun 82

[From the "Listeners Mailbag" program]

[Text] (?Buman Akiman) from Trabzon, Turkey: Let us refer to a number of complaints cited in your letter, which begins with the following sentence: I strongly support you in every respect. However, this does not mean that my mind is not occupied with a number of questions.

You have asked why Tehran Radio is allocating a short period of time to Koranic recitations. Yes, the Koran is God's commandment, and as such should be the only thing that should be read and heard. Nevertheless, we only have 60 minutes to convey certain views to our Turkish-speaking listeners. We believe that even if we allocate 15 minutes to Koranic recitations in our 60-minute cast, we shall still have difficulty in replying to our listeners who ask why we do not have recitations for a longer period. Naturally, reciting the Koran or hearing Koranic recitations creates a deep veneration in the spirit of the individual--even in the people who do not understand the meaning of the verses. However, you do not hear Koranic recitations from this radio station alone. Even the radio stations run by idolatrous regimes, which are officially waging a war against Islam, are airing Koranic verses recited by those who have excellent voices. In fact, such regimes are trying to please the masses in this way. However, our intention is not to please the listeners. It is one to fulfill an obligation--to begin a cast by airing the truth, God's commandment.

Your second complaint concerns the employment of women announcers. We have had numerous complaints on this matter to date. A number of people have gone as far as to say: We are against hearing the voices of women. However, we know thoroughly the songs sung by women and we like to hear them. Nevertheless, we believe it is a shame that the Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran is not very particular on the matter.

Both you and the others do not know the difficulty we are faced with in this respect. As a matter of fact, the enemies of the Islamic revolution are

frequently raising this question, asking, as they do, why the Iranians use women announcers in their broadcasts while they claim to be true Muslims. Regrettably, we are unable to give a reply. They even ask: Isn't the voice of women forbidden in a country ruled by Islamic canon?

We have aired your complaints in order to let you know that we have not turned a deaf ear to your questions. However, we regret to say that we do not as yet have a canonical explanation to end this argument. Therefore, the reply can be in any form. Nevertheless, women are working in government offices in Iran--provided, of course, that in practice they abide by Islamic principles, such as the obligation to wear the veil and adhere to norms of morality. Within this framework, women are also employed in the Iranian radio and television network, a number of them working as announcers. This is the actual state of affairs. However, every de facto situation does not necessarily imply a state of affairs which is within the framework of canon law. Regards.

CSO: 4650/370

BAGHDAD COMMENTS ON ARMED REBELLION WITHIN IRAN

GF301251 Baghdad International Service in Azeri 1800 GMT 27 Jun 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, in a statement made in Paris, the anti-Iran Mojahedin-e Khalq organization has called on all Iranians to force the downfall of the Khomeyni regime. According to this statement, Iraq's withdrawal from the territories it has occupied in Iran constitutes a significant cause for ousting the Khomeyni regime because this regime has gotten used to waging war and resorting to torture.

It must be stressed that Khomeyni now has no pretext whatsoever to continue his war against Iraq. Under the circumstances, what is more important than anything else is that all Iranian troops should leave the battlefronts to form a formidable force on the side of the poor Iranian peoples in order to destroy the Khomeyni regime.

The statement issued by the Mojahedin-e Khalq organization in Paris has made it obvious that armed rebellion against the Khomeyni regime is continuing in all Iranian cities and towns. Meanwhile, Tehran Radio has disclosed that armed Iranian Kurds have mounted a strong attack against the Khomeyni guards in (Ilamabad) in northwest Kordestan. However, the mullahs' [word indistinct] has not disclosed the number of casualties among the ranks of the Khomeyni guards. Regardless of this, a number of radios in both friendly and unfriendly countries have reported that the number of casualties among these guards is very high.

It is a fact that local resistance against the Khomeyni regime is gaining momentum with each passing day. The bloodthirsty and murderous Iranian rulers, who have been imposing their dark administration on the poor Iranian peoples for the past 3 years, are endeavoring to drown the Iranian peoples in a sea of blood. In the course of their 3 years in power, they have created an unprecedented rate of unemployment, together with hunger and severe political, social and economic crises. Meanwhile, they have destroyed Iran's political image in the international domain. They have carried out numerous imprudent actions which conflict with human rights in every corner of Iran. In fact, they have created an inferno of savage torture and suffering. Usurping the liberties of non-Persian peoples of Iran like ruffians, they have

deprived them of their national, cultural and economic rights. In addition to all this, they have sacrificed the poor Iranian peoples for the sake of their occupationist war.

These are the reasons which have caused the civil war in Iran to spread. It is common knowledge to all that Khomeyni began his aggressive war against the muslim Iraqi people after being provoked by international imperialism. Irrespective of sending hundreds of thousands of Iranian youths to the battlefronts of death, and regardless of the hard blows they have suffered resulting in heavy damage, they continue to escalate the war they have been waging against Iraq in order that the existence in the region of U.S. (?imperialism) and Zionism can be maintained and exploitation can [words indistinct]. Iraq, on the other hand, regardless of the fact that it has been victorious, has decided to end the war and withdraw from Iran. This decision, which has been put into effect with prudence and political measures, is a severe political blow to the Iranian administration composed of caliphs--in fact, a blow heavier than those dealt upon them in the course of the war which has been going on for nearly 2 years.

CSO: 4400/351

BRIEF

HELICOPTER REPORTEDLY ATTACKS KUWAITI FISHING BOAT--A helicopter belonging to the Ba'Thist infidel regime attacked a Kuwaiti fishing boat last week. It strafed the boat, killing four Pakistani sailors and an Indian sailor and wounding three other Pakistanis. The wounded, who were transferred last Friday to Karachi for treatment, gave a statement to the Pakistani paper NAWA-I WAQT, published on 28 June, in which they said that seven of the Pakistani fishermen and an Indian were working aboard a boat which belongs to a Kuwaiti company, and stated that the boat was severely damaged in the attack launched by Ba'Thist regime helicopters. It is worth reporting that the Kuwaiti media abstained from referring to this incident in the framework of its collaboration with the Ba'Thist and other American regimes in the region in order to hide the crimes which the Ba'Thist infidel regime commits. This is an example of the media support of this collapsing regime. [Text] [GY301940 (clandestine) Voice of Iraqi Islamic Revolution in Arabic 1715 GMT 30 Jun 82]

CSO: 4400/351

LEBANESE UN AMBASSADOR VIEWS ISRAELI INVASION

PM011357 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 2 Jul 82 pp 12-13

[Raghidah Dirgham interview with Lebanese UN Ambassador Ghassan Tuwayni in New York--date not given]

[Excerpts] [Introductory passage omitted] AL-HAWADITH: All the parties, those directly or indirectly concerned, including the United States and Israel, talk about the inevitability of an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Will there be a timetable for this withdrawal?

Tuwayni: As far as the Lebanese Government is concerned there is no timetable at present. There is strict adherence to resolution 509 which calls for immediate and unconditional withdrawal. But if we are to judge things by what happened in 1978, the withdrawal took several months to complete and in the end Israel cheated the United Nations and deceived the whole world. It kept part of Lebanon open to it and under its military control just as in the case of the other Arab territories, like the West Bank and Sinai, which remained occupied for many years and some of which are still occupied to this date.

AL-HAWADITH: Are you afraid that such a thing will be repeated?

Tuwayni: What we hope for is that we in Lebanon, within the framework of historical relations and the United Nations, are able to act in a manner that would not lead us to experience what the Arab countries whose lands have been occupied experienced, or what happened to us in 1978.

AL-HAWADITH: U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig said at a press conference recently that all foreign forces must withdraw from Lebanon, but he did not specify a time. He only said "in the end." Last week you met with Mr Haig and most probably you discussed these questions with him. What is your understanding of "in the end"?

Tuwayni: What I discussed with Mr Haig was the question of the security council. Other matters, of course, were discussed incidentally. The United States, according to what Haig assured me during my meeting with him and on other occasions, adheres to the independence of Lebanon and the integrity of

its soil and to the need for a total Israeli withdrawal. But I did not discuss with Haig a timetable because I was only discussing with him the UN resolutions.

AL-HAWADITH: One of these resolutions, the most recent one, is resolution 509 which provides for a total and unconditional Israeli withdrawal. But it appears from statements by some U.S. officials that the United States has begun to retract from resolution 509, In other words from the "immediate" and "unconditional" withdrawal.

Tuwayni: In our official talks with the United States there is no retraction from resolution 509. Rather there is an atmosphere indicating that the United States is not expecting an immediate withdrawal. But we adhere to resolution 509 and are avoiding any veto that would make the United States abandon its commitment to resolution 509. Therefore we are always anxious that resolution 509 be confirmed in every resolution issued by the security council.

AL-HAWADITH: Don't you think that matters have gone beyond the other point in the resolution, namely the "unconditional" withdrawal, since the United States now makes it a condition that an Israeli withdrawal should take place together with what it calls "total foreign withdrawal" from Lebanon?

Tuwayni: Lebanon does not consider that there are Israeli conditions.

AL-HAWADITH: I am talking about the U.S. stand, particularly since this stand is not separate from what is happening in the field, especially U.S. envoy Philip Habib's efforts.

Tuwayni: I am not negotiating with the United States.

AL-HAWADITH: Is not the Lebanese government negotiating with the United States?

Tuwayni: Yes, but I do not know. How do you want me to speak on behalf of the Lebanese Government while Philip Habib is sitting there and talking to the president and the prime minister?

AL-HAWADITH: What is your understanding of the U.S. stand on the question of "conditional" or "unconditional" withdrawal?

Tuwayni: I have no understanding. I believe that it is in the interest of Lebanon to remain for the Lebanese alone. I also believe that there is an Arab interest in this. Lebanon has suffered and tolerated many Arab mistakes, but solving Lebanese problems with the Arab countries or with the Palestinians cannot be carried out under the dictates of Israel terms. This is not the time to settle accounts or to look at past mistakes. But there is something that must be said frankly now. Lebanon, the Arab countries and the PLO were expecting the Israeli attack. The talk about the Israeli attack is an old story. A decision was adopted at FES Summit providing for a joint Arab strategy to confront this attack. Lebanon was asked to submit a working paper to a working committee set up by the summit. Lebanon submitted its paper

in which it proposed a plan for the defense of the south: it also proposed placing its forces at the disposal of an Arab plan and a joint Arab command. The committee set up by the conference postponed its first meeting. When it met it did so at a level incapable of taking decisions or adopting stands. All those present, or most of them, submitted working papers which negate the Lebanese working paper or prevents its being put into effect or the implementation of a common Arab strategy. The matter was referred to a meeting of chiefs of staff of the Arab armies. When the meeting was due the Lebanese chief of staff went to the meeting with the officers concerned. Only one officer from the Arab countries concerned attended. Therefore the Arab countries are at fault for not dealing with the situation seriously and a sense of responsibility; they were not up to the level of their decisions. Now they are pushing Lebanon and the Lebanese to despair of the Arabs ever shouldering the responsibility of defending a sacred Lebanese soil which the enemy has defiled. It would have been possible to remain silent or not to criticize if we had not been expecting this action [Israeli invasion] and if we had not asked that we prepare ourselves against it, and if nobody had listened to us. We are not accusing anybody of deliberate negligence, but we say that the question of the south did not seem to be taken seriously in the same way as it was taken by Israel. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4400/351

LEBANON

PHALANGIST SPOKESMAN: 'LEAVE US FOR 10 YEARS'

LD011306 Paris Domestic Service in French 1100 GMT 1 Jul 82

[Text] Last night Ronald Reagan defined the U.S. Government's stand on Lebanon. The United States wants Lebanon to have a strong government and only one army. They demand that all foreign troops--that is, the PLO as well as the Syrian and Israeli armies--withdraw from that country. This stand is probably to please the Christian Phalangists. Yves Loiseau has met Karim (Paqraduni), their spokesman, in Beirut.

[Begin (Paqraduni) recording] We are against any Palestinian military presence in Lebanon, even a symbolic one because the Palestinian [word indistinct] started with a symbolic (?presence). Even one single armed Palestinian in Lebanon would mean that there will not be even 1 single dollar or 1 single franc coming in for economic reconstruction. Even more important, there would not be one Lebanon but several Lebanons always torn apart.

We want, we beseech, that the Palestinians and the Arabs decide to leave us in peace for 10 years. We want to free ourselves from the Palestinian presence for at least 10 years in order to be able to rebuild what was destroyed during the last 10 years. Both the Islamic and the Christian Lebanese want to have a Lebanon without the Israelis, without the Syrians and without the Palestinians. [end recording]

CSO: 4400/351

S. LEBANESE ACCUSE ISRAELI ARMY OF 'TORTURE'

NC021514 Paris AFP in English 1253 GMT 2 Jul 82

[By Serge Mannuci]

[Text] Tyre, 2 Jul (AFP)--Israeli forces occupying this region of southern Lebanon are torturing detainees, according to the orthodox metropolitan of Tyre, while the mayor of Sidon further north has accused the Israelis of indiscriminately rounding up suspected supporters of Palestinian militants from among the civilian population.

In both cities, however, situated on the Mediterranean coast between the Israeli-Lebanese border and Beirut, life appears to have returned to normal just 10 days after they gave the impression of having been reduced to smoking ruins.

The debris has been cleaned up, electricity and telephone services have been reconnected, shops have re-opened, and traffic, controlled by armed Lebanese policemen, is once again heavy.

But local authorities caution that this apparent normalization is just a facade, masking a harsh occupation regime given to arbitrary arrests and mistreatment of detainees.

"I have kept quiet until now, waiting for the fighting to end," said archbishop Georges Haddad, the metropolitan of Tyre, "but it is no longer possible to do so. The people greeted the Israelis with joy when they drove out the evil (a reference to the Palestine Liberation Organization). But since then, the (Israeli) soldiers have arrested not only the Palestinians but innocent people as well, and they have tortured everyone."

A French-speaking Israeli officer stood silently by as the metropolitan briefed a group of journalists in French.

He said that yesterday he met a number of Palestinian women who claimed they were beaten throughout the night in an attempt to force them to say where arms had been hidden.

Archbishop Haddad also cited a Christian from Ad-Damur, whose brother had been killed by Palestinians and who was himself arrested Tuesday night with his son. He said Israeli soldiers kicked them in the face to make them admit to being terrorists but released them yesterday morning.

The metropolitan called over the son, aged 18, who appeared to walk in great pain. His face was swollen and he indicated that he could not speak.

Archbishop Haddad accused the Israelis of arresting many innocent people, several hundred of whom were released over the past few days and reported that they were treated well while in detention.

Nonetheless, the orthodox primate said he had written a letter to Israeli Defense Minister Ari'31 Sharon asking for a general amnesty during Ramadan, Islam's holy month of fasting, most of the population in the region is moslem.

The Israeli officer accompanying the journalists said isolated incidents of ill-treatment were likely to have been the work of Druze troops serving in the Israeli army.

The officer admitted that the Druze were "brutal" but added that "they are very good at finding out what we want to know: names (of Palestinian guer-rilas) and weapons stores."

In Sidon Mayor Ahmed Kalach said the Israeli army continues to make arrests and claimed there are now some 2,000 people in detention.

An Israeli army spokesman said that if the army seemed to have arrested more Lebanese than Palestinians it was because "the Lebanese are supporters of the PLO. They know the names."

Between 600 and 1,000 civilians have been killed in the fighting around Sidon, Mayor Kalach said, disputing the city's Israeli administrator who put the number at 400. Mayor Kalach said the injured have been cared for in municipal hospitals by Lebanese doctors, although the Israeli official claimed to have provided 350 hospital beds for the wounded.

And, if, as the administrator argued, electricity and telephone service are functioning again, it is because city officials did the work themselves, the mayor asserted.

CSO: 4400/351

LEBANON

CHRISTIAN SOURCES ON CONSTITUTIONAL HITCH IN LEBANON

TA050812 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 5 Jul 82 p 1

[Report by Yehuda Tzur]

[Text] Christian forces in Lebanon have in the last few days drawn the attention of Israeli elements to the constitutional complication which might evolve in Lebanon if the election of a new president to replace Ilyas Sarkis--who is scheduled to end his term in office in September of this year--is delayed. According to the Christian sources, there is a clause in the Lebanese constitution that paves the way for the election of the current Lebanese prime minister, Shafiq al-Wazzam, to the presidency--despite the fact that he is a Sunni Muslim--if the Lebanese parliament fails to hold the elections on time within the next 3 weeks.

The Christians fear that if Shafiq al-Wazzan is elected to the presidency another hitch would yet be added to the already complicated situation because, in their opinion, Al-Wazzan supports the positions of the Saudis who are inclined to a compromise with the PLO. It has been learned that people close to Bashir al-Jumayyil, who want their leader to be elected president believe that the Beirut affair must end shortly to prevent any possible political vacuum which would lead to the election of Al-Wazzan to the presidency.

Another difficulty lies in the fact that 15 Christian members of parliament live in villages within the area controlled by the Syrian forces and this hinders the presence of a quorum in parliament. It is highly likely that even if they manage to reach Beirut these 15 men would abstain from voting for an anti-Syrian candidate so as not to jeopardize their property and houses.

Christian sources believe there is a good chance that their leader, Bashir al-Jumayyil, will be elected president if the elections are held on time.

CSO: 4400/351

BRIEFS

PALACE ENCOURAGING U.S. BLACKMAIL POLICY--In Beirut, the Lebanese Islamic and national circles are continuing their moves to confront the Zionist siege of Beirut and the recent Zionist criminal measures of closing the crossing points, preventing food and medical supplies from reaching the city and cutting off water and electricity supplies. These were undertaken in an attempt to strike at the Lebanese national and Palestinian steadfastness in accordance with the U.S. blackmail policy to impose, with the support and encouragement of B'Abda Palace, Zionist conditions. [Text] [NC061849 (clandestine) Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1745 GMT 6 Jul 82]

JUNBLATT ISSUES APPEAL ON HUMAN RIGHTS--Brother Walid Junblatt has called on the socialist international to make swift moves to safeguard human rights that are being violated by Israel, which is detaining thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians and flouting international norms and agreements that provide for the protection of civilians and prisoners of war. Junblatt stressed the need to support the French proposal which calls for sending international forces to ensure disengagement and the protection of Beirut. Meanwhile, the progressive Socialist Party has urged certain Druze circles to exhibit self-respect and a minimal degree of national pride and to remember that the Arab and (?regional) dimension is the natural one for the Druze in particular and the Lebanese in general. [Text] [NC051942 (clandestine) Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1850 GMT 5 Jul 82]

RENEWED CLASHES REPORTED IN TRIPOLI 2 JULY--Clashes have resumed in Bab At-Tabbanah and Ba'l Muhsin in Tripoli between the Syrian forces and the popular resistance. Various types of weapons are being used. The sound of exploding artillery shells and rockets is being heard in the capital of the north [Tripoli]. [Text] [NC021609 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1515 GMT 2 Jul 82]

ISRAEL GIVING EDUCATION AID IN AN-NABATIYAH--The matriculation examinations in southern Lebanon, which were scheduled for this week, have been postponed until further notice, according to directives from the ministry of education in Beirut. The headmaster in An-Nabatiyah told our correspondent Hayim Hecht that the school was damaged, most of the teachers fled and the students cannot concentrate on studies and exams. Despite that, there will be a special study course for the 700 pupils from the An-Nabatiyah area who are supposed to stand for the matriculation exams this year. Groups of teachers and

headmasters have begun, with the cooperation of the Israeli education ministry, to prepare for the coming school year. [Text] [TA060759 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0700 GMT 6 Jul 82]

PHALANGISTS PLUNDERING SHOPS NEAR SIDON--In the past 24 hours several incidents occurred between the Phalangist soldiers of Bashir Al-Jumayyil and the Lebanese inhabitants of the Lebanese coastal sector. Our correspondent in the north, Menahem Horowitz, has reported that after a few days in which the tension between the two sides had subsided, the Phalangist soldiers again tried to plunder food shops in the area of Sidon and to fuel their cars without paying. [Text] [TA060957 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0938 GMT 6 Jul 82]

CSO: 4400/351

PAPER CITES FIGHTERS ON ISRAELI USE OF NERVE GAS

PM021237 Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic 28 Jun 82 p 5

[Michel Khayyat report: "How Did the Bhamdun Battle Go, and Why Did the Enemy Resort to Nerve Gas and Agents?"]

[Excerpts] In an advanced position we met with a fighter who, we learned from his comrades, had not slept for 5 days. He was discharging his duties with determination. He had more vitality than any of us. He told us first that the Arab region is the target of a major plot being implemented in complex international circumstances, in the course of an imperialist onslaught against Arab steadfastness, which is led by Syria under struggler Comrade Hafiz al-Asad.

He added that the Zionist enemy was surprised by the steadfastness and dedication of Syrian Arab soldiers and began using the most sophisticated weapons produced by U.S. technology. They used F-15's and F-16's but Syrian fighters bravely defied these aircraft and prevented them from achieving the Zionist objectives. The Zionist enemy was shocked by the resolve of the Syrian Arab fighters--the way they clung to their positions and defied the imperialist military machine. As a result of this steadfastness and the grave losses in men and armor, the Zionist enemy resorted to inhuman and internationally banned methods and used nerve gas. The enemy used this gas in fighting at Al-Mansuriyah and in the suburbs of Bhamdun. Despite the use of these gases, our fighters stood fast in their positions and clung to their cause.

Describing the Bhamdun battle, he said: In the course of the battle, where we decided to die rather than retreat, we were surprised to find enemy agents of Sa'd Haddan and the Phalangists. This is in addition to the enemy's use of nerve gas which stupefies and paralyzes the fighters. The men continued to fight despite these gases. They washed their faces to get rid of the drugging effect of the gas, but the agents lay in wait for them.

The fact that the enemy has reached Bhamdun in a war which we wanted to be protracted does not mean anything. [passage omitted]

He added: We realize more than ever that our enemy is a coward. He fled, terrified of our fighters. We held on to all the positions entrusted to us.

If it were not for the agents and the nerve gas the enemy would not have been able to advance. [passage omitted]

As we moved from one position to another we met more and more heroic soldiers and learned from them the lessons of heroism, sacrifice and defense of Arab territory. In an advanced position we met soldier 'Adnan, who participated in the Bhamdun battle. He told us how he and his comrades faced the enemy tanks which were advancing on Bahmdun at night. He said that the tank crews thought that the heavy air bombardment had killed us all. When they came within range of our weapons we opened fire and destroyed three of them. The battle continued but I felt abnormally weak and could no longer stand. My comrades carried me and we returned to our positions after the enemy tanks retreated. I learned later that the enemy used nerve gas against us. [passage omitted]

CSO: 4400/351

DAMASCUS RADIO: U.S.-ISRAELI SCHEMES WILL FAIL

JN051525 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 5 Jul 82

[Text] The Arab moves to confront the Zionist invasion are being expressed in many forms. The Syrian effort seems to give these Arab moves their momentum and effectiveness so that they can largely influence the development of the serious events in the region.

President Al-Asad's visit to At-Ta'if is within this context. The talks there are focusing on the crucial and important point which is disturbing the sons of the Arab masses; namely, the methods to confront the Zionist invasion of Lebanon. This visit is a continuation of the important Arab mobilization efforts which President Al-Asad had initiated before the Zionist invasion of Lebanon and through which Syria had emphasized the need for the Arabs to shoulder their responsibilities toward the imminent Zionist threat which threatens the Arab nation and its national existence. The Zionist threat, which has been revealed by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, shows the extent of hatred and hostile designs that the Zionists harbor toward every Arab capital and city and toward every Arab citizen.

Syria's confrontation of the Zionist invasion--the actions of its courageous fighters and the sacrifices of its armed forces--has proved that its commitment to the Palestinian cause and the cause of liberation is a full commitment, a commitment stemming from conviction, principles, and a determination to achieve the pan-Arab objectives. Its current moves in the Arab arena complete the action of its forces, and their fighting and steadfastness in the battlefield. These moves also demonstrate Syria's great concern that Arab strength must be cohesive and that all the Arab efforts must be directed toward the battle so that Israel, those who back it, and its agents in the Arab region understand that the Arab nation is not slumbering and cannot remain idle toward this barbaric invasion of Lebanon and that the Arab nation's will can in no way become a prisoner of the will of Begin, Reagan or Sharon. President Hafiz al-Asad announced this before and Syria is reiterating this stand now through its heroic stand in defense of Palestine and Lebanon.

We have not permitted and shall never permit the imperialist U.S.-Zionist schemes to triumph in our region. President Al-Asad has said that the Arabs and the Arab masses alone will have the final say in this region. Guided by this principle, in which Syria firmly believes, and from the belief that the

Arabs have immense potentials they can use efficiently against the Zionist invasion, Syria is now moving on the Arab level and is fighting in the Lebanese arena. Thanks to its steadfastness, that of the Palestinian fighters and the Lebanese nationalists, the situation in Lebanon has tipped in favor of the Arab will. With the continuation of this heroic steadfastness and with the useful Arab moves, Israel will realize that its situation in Lebanon and the situation of its forces in Lebanon will not be any better tomorrow than they are today. On the contrary, its situation tomorrow will be worse.

We are fully confident that the Zionist war which Israel waged to break the Arabs' will and backbone and to completely liquidate the Palestinian resistance and Lebanon's pan-Arab existence will in no case and under no circumstances become a source of stability and tranquility for Israel and for its aggressive designs.

After the Zionist-U.S. machine of destruction failed to achieve the objectives of Begin and Reagan in Lebanon and the region and after the strong blow dealt to the army of aggression at the hands of the Syrian forces, and the joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces, Israel is no longer enjoying the upper hand. That's why we stress and reiterate what we have always declared in Syria--the Arabs and the Arab masses will have the final say in this region. We shall not permit the U.S.-Zionist schemes to triumph in this region.

CSO: 4400/351

SYRIA

BRIEFS

AL-BA'TH SAYS AGENT ARAB REGIMES CONNIVE WITH ISRAEL--AL-BA'TH says: What has been reiterated by news agencies confirms that some Arab regimes played a basic role in the Zionist invasion operation. This invasion is considered by the U.S. administration as the beginning of a new stage and offers all the appropriate circumstances to Americanize the entire region. Enemy War Minister Sharon said in his press conference in eastern Beirut that the objective of the invasion is to implement the second stage of Camp David Agreements. This clearly indicates that numerous Arab regimes have participated in fabricating the Camp David Agreements despite their rhetorical rejection of the plot. [Text] [From the "Press Review"] [JN040716 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0630 GMT 4 Jul 82]

CSO: 4400/351

PHENOMENON OF MASS MIGRATION TO LIBYA EXPLORED

Tunis AL-SABAH in Arabic 13 May 82 pp 5.6

/Article by Salim Al-Karray: "A Report from Ra's Jadir on the Condition of People Migrating to Libya"/

/Text/ Motives for Migration

"They said that Libya had relaxed, so we went."

We started asking about the reasons for migrating and leaving the country. The answers differed from person to person; there were people who said they did it for tourism, others who said they did it to visit, and others said they did it to resume working after vacation. However, when they were drawn into conversation and discussion was held with them at length, it became apparent that they were going to look for work. We spoke with some people separately, and they made it apparent that they were headed for Tripoli although they were working in Tunisia. They explained that they left because the borders opened and relations were good, and expressed themselves by saying "They said that Libya had relaxed, so we went."

As a deduction from some of the contacts we made, it became apparent that the overwhelming majority going to Libya went to work. For example, out of 100 persons, 90 replied that they were going to look for work, and most of them were young men between the ages of 20 and 30.

As for their regional affiliations, most of them are from areas that are experiencing an economic and social condition and, to say the least, are the most influenced by economic and social imbalance. Most of the emigrants are from Sidi Bou Zayd, Kasserine, Kairouan, Mednine and the rural areas of Sfax.

There is another reason which is to be considered important in interpreting this phenomenon, and that is the state of unemployment that some of our young people are suffering from. When their situation becomes oppressive, they go to Ra's Jadir to travel to Libya in the hopes that they will find work there. However, that reason cannot justify two factors, which are:

The departure of some people who are in a state of disguised unemployment, are unsettled and go to Libya.

Departure by way of chaotic migration which is not subject to any order or guarantees which will have the effect of preserving labor rights in the fraternal country.

The harm in both cases is greater than the positive elements. In the first situation, the worker, instead of getting more practice to acquire experience, then getting appointed to his job, goes to work and cuts his ties to the natural course of change. In the second, the migrant worker becomes exposed to the whims of the person hiring him and is deprived of his most basic occupational rights.

Scenes

When we went to Ra's Jadir, we saw massive throngs that were crowded before the border center and the adjacent areas which we had never seen with our own eyes. However, we had heard numerous stories about them, from officials directly involved who had seen them or from people coming back who had experienced them and gone through them. The circumstances were difficult, without a doubt--difficult in terms of nature and climate. No water or bread was easily available and it was said that one night in the month of March the crowd of people waiting to get to the control office and cross the border came to about 3,000.

This is where it begins, in the border center in Tunisia. However, as to the circumstances awaiting people in the fraternal country, we learned from people coming back that life there is very difficult for people who do not have friends or relatives.

Some people told us that large numbers of Tunisians spend their days in the Tunis cafe in Tripoli and sleep on the side of the road in many squares, especially al-Rashid Square in the capital. Late every evening, very sad scenes can be seen of many of the people of our country standing in lines, spreading out sheets of cardboard, covering themselves with other sheets, evacuating themselves in corners of the square and cooking food in large cans of tomatoes and tins over a primus stove. They all go bringing nothing more than travel money, hoping to find work as soon as possible, but the situation they have gone through and seen with their own eyes has shown them that finding work in this situation is not easy and cannot be done without problems. However, conversely, there are also some groups that have not been exposed to hard problems and circumstances; they manage through friends to obtain token agreements which they take to Tunisia, then go back to Tripoli again via the labor office. Some others also obtain labor permits and can settle their circumstances with the Libyan authorities, who, in turn, give them the right to reside in Tripoli.

It is also worth pointing out that many people later turn out not to go to the capital, Tripoli, or the other big towns, but go directly to rural areas and other small villages where there may be immediate work in the sectors of agriculture, construction, public works and quarries.

As for competition between old and new Tunisian workers, that in turn has been apparent, especially in the private sector, where employers deliberately replace some workers with others who are prepared to work for low wages which in some cases

come to about 45 Libyan pounds (90 Tunisian dinars), or less than the legal minimum salary in the jamahiriyah.

Promotion of Services--Transport, Trade and Lodging

In this harsh, severe context and these circumstances, which are taxing for some people, life, in the case of some other people has flourished. This is what we observed on a visit to Ra's Jadir, going through Sfax, Gabes, Mednine and Benguirdane, in particular in the southwestern provinces, where I saw many small shops whose proprietors are still treating workers in inhuman illegal ways. Many of the people working there have gone to Libya. The employment offices in the south have also experienced a perceptible drop in job applicants, and this may be attributed to the preference to leave in circumstances of chaotic migration rather than regulated migration.

However, the most tangible reflections were positive, especially in some border areas, such as the Benguerdan area and the region surrounding that; the services there were abundant and have started gradually to grow with the opening of the borders. Many restaurants have reopened and others have expanded their capacity. The same is the case with hotels. In Benguerdan we met some people who wanted to and were starting to open hotels and restaurants and they spoke to us about their projects, being prompted to do so through great hopes which dispelled the harshness of natural circumstances.

The reflection is also apparent in the transport activity of various kinds in Sfax, Gabes and Mednine, as regards public vehicles or taxis and even private commercial vehicles in particular.

While we were in Ra's Jadir our attention was drawn to the presence of some technical experts with the Office of Tunisian Workers Abroad and Occupational Employment and Training who had come on a study mission especially to learn about conditions there, facilitate services and make them accessible to people who want to work abroad or are returning to Tunisia for good. This delegation came especially to provide support for the Guidance and Orientation Office which had been there since 1974. These experts stressed to us that they were expecting a number of workers to return, since some laws were issued recently in Libya involving the Commercial Marketing Company and the Brega Oil Distribution Company.

Return, Or the Dream That Was Not Realized

We walked around a great deal in the returnees' area and talked at length with some returnees. It was much easier to talk with them than with their departing brethren. Abdallah Ben Mohamed Ben El Massoudi, originally from the Kasserine area, said "I left Tunisia 16 days ago to look for work. I proceeded to go around in the streets and only came upon people who wanted to use me in the harvest or for tending sheep. I returned with what remained of the money I had taken with me, which was not much. As you can see, I was able to buy only four quilts and two pairs of socks."

We asked him about the living condition of the Tunisians there and he said "That is very sad. We spread out pieces of cardboard and cover ourselves with them. That's what I can tell you."

We can deduce numerous factors and causes for the return of the people who migrate; these are:

A lack of work.

Unsuitable work.

The failure to obtain residence /permits/.

Depletion of travel money.

There are other reasons, most important of which is the moral and psychological state the Tunisian finds himself in when he does not find what he had been dreaming of and looking forward to. In addition, the bulk of the motives for coming back to Tunisia may be attributed to the fact that there is no work and that the persons seeking work did not get what they went for.

In another area, the Libyan authorities are intending to put some new measures bearing on the Brega Oil Distribution Company and the Commercial Marketing Company into effect, allowing only nationals to work in the two companies by expelling people of all other nationalities and replacing them with Libyans. When this measure goes into effect, it is expected that about 2,000 Tunisians or more who had been working in the two companies will return. For this reason the Tunisian authorities in turn have prepared to cope with this return and give real attention to the persons coming back.

We managed to get in touch with one returnee who had been an employee of the Brega Company. He said "I made a 4-year contract with the Brega Company but did not complete a full year. I found myself expelled on the grounds that all the foreigners working in the company were to be replaced by people of Libyan nationality. In the face of this fact, I organized my return and picked up my belongings, but was surprised at the border to find the Libyan authorities taking my television set, washing machine and some electric appliances. Therefore I left all my belongings with the Libyan authorities and came to Tunisia, hoping to go back again to Libya to settle my situation then return to Tunisia for good."

The same tale was told by a worker who returned to Tunisia and would not be going back again to Libya. This picture has become common in recent days to everyone following the circumstances of people returning to Tunisia for good. We happened by chance to notice some women crying because much baggage had been held at the Libyan border. The new Libyan law stipulates that everything the Libyan compensation fund pays for (especially furnishings) must be held, and thus foreigners are prevented from bringing these furnishings with them when they leave.

As is the case with the people who are going out, the largest group of persons returning were in the sectors of construction, public works, agriculture, fishing and workshop industries, that is, people who did not find the work that they had been imagining and thinking they would in Libya and came from one of these sectors in Tunisia. After asking about 100 returnees, we managed to observe that the

biggest group of returnees came from urban areas, that is, that migrants were from urban areas or were directly affected by the influence of the big cities around them. Therefore, most of the people coming back were from Sfax while the rest were rural dwellers who were able to acclimatize themselves to the difficulties of new life in a foreign environment.

The Remedy

Perhaps general trends in the phenomenon of the chaotic migration to Libya point up many bitter facts. It is necessary to unearth the cause of the disease so that it can be overcome and the situation may be dealt with. The general trends indicate that most of the migrants are from Mednine, Sidi Bouzaid, Kasserine, Kairouan, Tataouine and the rural areas around Sfax. These areas for more than one reason are going through poor conditions in comparison with some other coastal areas.

The general trends also indicate that more than half the people who leave are suffering unemployment, and that a small percentage of them are engaged in stable work, while the rest are in unstable work. The time has also come to study this social situation and take note of all the necessary ways of coping with it. The sixth plan's granting of priority to employment is only a good beginning and we hope that it will not remain restricted to the pages of books, newspapers and magazines.

The general trends also indicate that more than half the people who migrate are less than 30 and the rest are between 30 and 50. This also indicates the state of aimlessness and emptiness that young people are in, especially in the southern areas. One must think most carefully of accommodating, training and looking after these young people, because they are the best guarantee of the country's future.

What should one do in the face of this situation? It is a question that is often asked, but the answer to it is rarely a sound one, because conditions differ in the minds of different people. Some people find it appropriate to reply one way and others see fit to reply another way. Perhaps the best answer is the conception for rising above the situation the governor of Mednine gave us. He said "There are many negative aspects to the phenomenon, and in order to transcend these we are intending to create a number of job situations in the area and we intend to train and accommodate young people and provide them with work inside and outside the country in a well organized, carefully studied manner through the Labor Office."

At the end, it remains to be said that Libya is one of the most important markets for Tunisian manpower, in comparison with the European and Gulf markets. The reserves of Tunisians which Libya requires are great, especially since it is determined to dispense with some other nationalities and give priority to Tunisians, which is good if it is done under good, orderly circumstances which will have the effect of controlling and regulating migration, lest the rights of any party, Tunisian workers or Libyan employers, be infringed.

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